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THE 'VEDIC DOCTRINE OF 'SILENCE'

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The general significance of 'silence' in connection with rites, myths, and mysteries has been admirably discussed by M. René Guénon in recent numbers of *Études Traditionnelles*.¹ Here it is proposed to cite some more specific details from the Vedic tradition. It must be premised that the Supreme Identity (*tad ekam*) is not merely in itself 'without duality' (*advaita*), but when considered from another and external point of view is an identity of many different things. By this we do not mean only that a first unitary principle transcends the reciprocally related pairs of opposites (*dvandvau*) that can be distinguished on any level of reference as contraries or known as contradictories; but rather that the Supreme Identity, undetermined even by a first assumption of unity, subsumes in its infinity the whole of what can be implied or represented by the notions of the infinite and the finite, of which the former includes the latter, without reciprocity.² On the other hand, the finite cannot be excluded or isolated from or denied to the infinite, since an independent finite would be in itself a limitation of the infinite by hypothesis. The Supreme Identity is therefore inevitably represented in our thought under two aspects, both of which are essential to the formation of any concept of totality *secundum rem*. So we find it said of Mitrāvaruṇau (*apara* and *para* Brahman, God and Godhead) that from one and the same seat they behold 'the finite and the infinite' (*aditiṃ ditim ca*, RV., V. 62. 8); where, of course, it must be borne in mind that *in divinis* to 'see' is the same as to 'know' and to 'be'. Or in like manner, but substituting the notion of spiration for that of manifestation,

¹ Guénon, R., 'Organisations initiatiques et sociétés secrètes', and 'Du secret initiatique', *La Voile d'Isis*, 1934, pp. 349, 389, and 429; 'Mythes, mystères et symboles', *ib.*, 1935, p. 385. *La Voile d'Isis* is now published as *Études Traditionnelles*.

² 'The Infinite (*aditiḥ*) is Mother, Sire, and Son, whatever hath been born, and the principle of birth, etc.' (RV., I. 89. 10); 'Nothing is changed in the immovable Infinite (*ananta*) by the emanation or the withdrawals of worlds' (Bhāskara, *Bījaganita*, repeating the thought of *Atharva Veda*, X. 8. 29 and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 1, that 'Though plenum (*pūrṇam*) be taken from plenum, plenum yet remains').

The inclusion of the finite in the Infinite is expressly formulated in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 3. 8 'A is Brahman, the ego (*aham*) is within it'.

On the relation of unity to multiplicity see my 'Vedic Exemplarism', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, I, 1936, pp. 44-64.

'it can be said that 'That One is equally spirated, despirated' (*tad ekam ānīt avātam*, RV., X. 129. 2); or is at the same time 'Being and Non-being' (*sadasat*, RV. X. 5. 7).¹

The same conception, expressed in terms of utterance and silence, is clearly formulated in RV., II. 43. 3, 'Whether, O Bird, thou utterest weal aloud, or sittest silent (*tūṣṇīm*), think on us with favour'.² And similarly in the ritual, we find that rites are performed either with or without enunciated formulæ, and that lauds are offered either vocally or silently; for which the texts also provide an adequate explanation. Here it must be premised that the primary purpose of the Vedic Sacrifice (*yajña*) is to effect a reintegration of the deity conceived of as spent and disintegrated by the act of creation, and at the same time that of the sacrificer himself, whose person, considered in its individual aspect is evidently incomplete. 'The mode of reintegration is by means of initiation (*dīkṣā*) and symbols (*pratīka*, *ākṛti*), whether natural, constructed, enacted, or vocalized; the sacrificer is expected to identify himself with the sacrifice itself and thus with the deity whose primordial self-sacrifice it represents, 'the observance of the rule thereof being the same as it was at the creation'. A clear distinction is drawn between those who may be merely 'present' and those who 'really' participate in the ritual acts which are performed on their behalf.

As already stated, there are certain acts that are performed with a vocal accompaniment and others silently. For example in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 2. 2. 13-14, in connection with the preparation of the Fire-altar, certain furrows are ploughed and certain libations made with an accompaniment of spoken words, and others silently,—'Silently (*tūṣṇīm*), for what is silent is undeclared (*aniruktam*), and what is undeclared is everything (*sarvam*) . . . This Agni (Fire) is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is both declared (*niruktaḥ*) and undeclared, bounded (*parimitaḥ*) and unbounded.

¹ The 'distinct operations' (*vivrata*), interior and exterior (*tīra* or *guhya*, and *āvis*), of the Supreme Identity are represented by many other pairs, e.g. order and disorder (cosmos and chaos), life and death, light and darkness, sight and blindness, waking and sleep, potency and impotence, motion and rest, time and eternity, etc. It may be observed that all of the negative terms represent privations or evils if considered empirically, but absence of limitation, and good, when considered analogically,—the negative concept including the positive, as cause includes effect.

² Cf. RV., X. 27. 21 'Beyond what is heard here, there is another sound' (*śrava id ena paro anyad asti*): I. 164. 10 'At the back of yonder Heaven the Gods incant an omniscient word without outgoing effect' (*mantrayante . . . viśvavidam vācam aviśvaminvam*); *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, III. 7-9, where the initiate (*śikṣitāḥ*, regarded as one dead to the world) is said to utter a 'non-human' word (*amānuṣim vācam*) or 'brahma-dictum' (*brahmavādyam*). Nothing but an echo of the veritable Word can be heard or understood by human ears.

Now whatever he does with spoken formulæ (*yajusa*), thereby he integrates (*samśkaroti*) that form of his which is declared and bounded; and whatever he does silently, thereby he integrates that form of his which is undeclared and unbounded. Verily, whoever as a comprehensor thereof does thus, he integrates the whole totality (*sarvaṃ kṛtsnam*) of Prajāpati; the ab extra forms (*bāhyāni rūpāni*) are declared, the ab intra forms (*antarāni rūpāni*) are undeclared. An almost identical passage appears in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1. 2. 18; and in VI. 4. 1. 6 there is another reference to the performance of a rite in silence, 'He spreads the black antelope skin silently, for it is the Sacrifice, the Sacrifice is Prajāpati, and Prajāpati is undeclared'.

In the *Taittirīya Samhitā*, III. 1. 9, the first libations are drawn off silently (*upānśu*), the latter with noise (*upabdim*), and 'thus one bestows upon the deities the glory that is theirs, and upon men the glory that is theirs, and becomes divinely glorious amongst the deities and humanly glorious amongst men'.

In *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 31-32, the Devas, unable to overcome the Asuras, are said to have 'seen' the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīm śaṁsam apaśyan*), and this the Asuras could not follow. This 'silent laud' is identified with what are called the 'eyes of the soma-pressings, by means of which the Comprehensor reaches the Light-world'. There is a reference to 'these Eyes of soma, by which our eyes of contemplation (*dhī*) and intellect (*manas*) we behold the Golden' (*hiranyam*, RV., I. 139. 2, sc. *Hiranyagarbham*, the Sun, the Truth, Prajāpati, as in X. 121). It may be observed in this connection that, like the wine of other traditions, the soma partaken of is not the very elixir (*rasa*, *amṛta*) of life, but a symbolic liquor, — 'Of what the Brāhmans understand by "soma", none ever tastes, none tastes who dwells on earth' (RV., X. 85. 3-4): it is 'by means of the priest, the initiation, and the invocation' that the temporal power partakes of the semblance of the spiritual power (*brahmaṇo rūpam*), *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 31.¹ Here the distinction between the soma actually and soma theoretically partaken of is analogous

¹ *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II. 3. 7 'By means of the form of Yonder-one one has being in this world' (*amuno rūpenēnam lokam ābhavati*); the converse, 'by means of this (human) form one is wholly reborn in that world' being stated here, and also in II. 3. 2 where a 'person' (*puruṣa*) is distinguished from the animal man (*paśu*) in that he 'by the mortal seeks the immortal, that is his perfection.' For example, in AB. VII. 31, cited above, it is by means of the *nyagrodha* shoots that the representative of the temporal power partakes of soma metaphysically (*parokṣeṇa*). This doctrine of 'transubstantiation' is similarly enunciated in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. 7. 3. 11. 'By faith he makes the *surā* to be soma', cf. ib. XII. 8. 1. 5 and XII. 8. 2. 2. See also my 'Angel and Titan', p. 382, Note 12 (JAOS. 55).

to that between the spoken words of the ritual and that which cannot be expressed in words, and similarly to the distinction between the visible representation and the 'picture that is not in the colours' (*Īśāikāvatāra Sūtra*, II. 118).

The well-known orison, RV., X. 189 addressed to the Serpent Queen (*sarparājñī*), who is at once the Dawn, Earth, and Bride of the Sun, is also known as the 'mental chant' (*mānasa stotra*), evidently because it is as explained in *Taittirīya Samhitā*, VII. 3. 1, 'chanted mentally' (*manasā*¹ *stuvate*), and this just because it is within the power of the intellect (*manas*) not merely to encompass this (*imām*, i.e. the finite universe) in a single moment, but also to transcend it, not only to contain (*paryāptum*) but also to environ (*paribhavitum*) it. And in this way, by means of what has previously been enunciated vocally (*vācā*) and what is afterwards enunciated mentally, 'both (worlds) are possessed and obtained'. Precisely the same is implied in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II. 1. 4. 29, where it is said that whatever has not been obtained by the preceding rites is now obtained by means of the *Sarparājñī* verses, recited, as is evidently taken for granted, mentally and silently; and thus the whole (*sarvam*) is possessed. Similarly in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1, where the two first parts of the *Ājya* are the 'silent murmur' (*tūṣṇīm-japah*) and the 'silent laud' (*tūṣṇīm-śaṁsa*), 'He recites inaudibly, for the attainment of all desires', it being understood, of course, that the vocalized chant pertains to the attainment only of temporal goods.

It may be noted too, that in perfect agreement with the correspondence of the spoken words to the exterior and those unspoken to the interior forms of deity, cited above, is the formulation of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 27, where when the soma has been bought from the Gandharvas (types of Eros, armed with bows and arrows, who are the guardians of Soma, ab intra) at the price of the Word (*vāc*, f. called here 'the Great Naked One',—the Nude Goddess,—and represented in the rite by a virgin heifer) it is prescribed that until she has been redeemed from them, that is to say so long as she remains 'within', the recitative is to be performed in silence (*upāñśu*).

In the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 6, where there is a dialogue on Brahman, the position is finally reached where the questioner is told that Brahman is 'a divinity about which further questions cannot be asked', and at this the questioner 'holds her peace' (*upararāma*). This is, of course in perfect agreement with the employment of the *via remotionis* in the same texts, where it is said

¹ Hence *Manasā Devī*, the modern Bengali designation of the Serpent Goddess.

that the Brahman is 'No, No' (*nēti, nēti*); and also with the traditional text quoted by Śaṅkara on *Brahma Sūtra*, III. 2. 17, where Bāhva, questioned regarding the nature of Brahman remains silent (*tūṣṇīm*), only exclaiming when the question is repeated for the third time, 'I teach you indeed, but you do not understand: this Brahman is silence'. Precise the same significance attaches to the Buddha's refusal to analyze the state of *nirvāṇa*. In *Bhagavad Gītā*, X. 38 Krishna speaks of himself as 'the silence of the hidden ones (*mauna guhāyām*), and the gnosis of the Gnostics' (*jñānam jñānavatām*); where *mauna* corresponds to the familiar *muni*, 'silent sage'. This is not, of course, to say that He does not also 'speak', but that his speaking is simply the manifestation, and not an affection, of the Silence; as the *Brhadāranyaka Upaniṣad*, III. 5, also reminds us, the supreme state is one that transcends the distinction of utterance from silence,—'Without respect to utterance or silence (*amaunam ca maunam nirvidya*), then is he indeed a Brāhman'. When it is asked further 'By what means does one thus become a Brāhman?', the questioner is told, 'By that means by which one does become a Brāhman', which is as much as to say, by a way that can be found but cannot be charted. The secret of initiation remains inviolable by its very nature; it cannot be betrayed because it cannot be expressed,—it is inexplicable (*aniruktam*), but the inexplicable is everything, at the same time all that can and all that cannot be expressed.

It will be seen from the citations above that the Brāhmaṇa texts and the rites to which they refer are not only absolutely self-consistent but in complete agreement with the values implied in the text of RV., II. 43. 3; the explanations are, indeed, of universal validity, and could be applied as well to the Oraciones Secretae of the Christian Mass (which is also a sacrifice) as to the unvoiced repetition of the Indian Yajus-formulæ.¹ The consistency affords

¹ It may be added that while from a religious point of view silence and fasting and other acts of abstention are acts of penance, from a metaphysical point of view their significance has no longer to do with the mere improvement of the individual as such but with the realization of supra-individual conditions. The contemplative life as such is superior to the active life as such. It does not however follow that the state of the Comprehensor or even that of the Wayfarer should be one of total inaction; this would be an imperfect imitation of the Supreme Identity where eternal rest and eternal work are one and the same. There is an adequate imitation only when inaction and action are identified, as intended by the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the Taoist *wu wei*; action no longer implying limitation when it is no longer determined by needs or compelled by ends to be attained, but becoming a simple manifestation. In this case, for example, utterance does not exclude, but rather represents silence; and it is in just this way that a myth or other adequate symbol, although an 'expression' actually, remains a 'mystery' essentially. In the same way every

at the same time an excellent illustration of the general principle that what is to be found in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads represents nothing new in principle, but only an expansion of what is taken for granted and more 'eminently' enunciated in the 'older' liturgical texts themselves. Those who assume that quite 'new doctrines' are taught in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are simply placing unnecessary difficulties in the way of their own understanding of the Samhitās.

It will be advantageous also to consider the derivation and form of the word *tūṣṇīm*. This indeclinable form, generally adverbial ('silently') but sometimes to be rendered adjectivally or as a noun, is really the accusative of a supposedly lost *tuṣṇa*, f. *tuṣṇī*, corresponding in meaning to Greek *sigé*, and derived from the root *tuṣ*, meaning to be satisfied, contented, and at rest, in the sense that motion comes to rest in the attainment of its object, and indeed as speech comes to rest in silence when all has been said that can be said. The word *tūṣṇīm* occurs perhaps as a real accusative (Caland, '*tūṣṇīm* is equal to *vācamyamah*'),—for to speak of 'contemplating silently' would involve a tautology,—in *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 6. 1, where Prajāpati, desiring to proceed from the state of unity to that of multiplicity (*bahu syām*), expresses himself with the words 'May I be born' (*prajāyeya*), and 'having by intellect contemplated the Silence' (*tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat*), therewith 'saw' (*ādidhit*) that the Germ (*garbham*, sc. Agni or Indra who as the Br̥hat becomes the 'eldest son'), lay hidden within himself (*antarhitam*), and so proposes to bring it to birth by means of the Word (*vāc*). *Tūṣṇīm manasā dhyāyat* then corresponds to the more usual *manasā vācam akrata* (RV., X. 71. 2) or *manasāivā vācam mithunam samabhavat* (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 2. 9), with reference to 'the act of fecundation latent in eternity', for thus¹ 'He (Prajāpati) became pregnant (*garbhin*)'² and expressed (*asrjata*) the Several Angels'. The birth of the Son is strictly speaking not only a conception from the the conjoint principles, in the sense of vital operation, but at the same time a conception intellectually,—*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*, corresponding to the designation of the Germ (*garbham*, sc. Hiraṇyagarbha) as a concept (*didhitim*) in this sense, RV., III. 31. 1.

natural function when referred to the principle it represents, can properly be said to have been renounced even when it is performed.

¹ 'Thus', i.e. as St. Augustine expresses it: having thus 'made Himself a mother of whom to be born' (*Contra V. Haereses*, 5).

² Cf. Epiphanius, *Haer.* XXXIV. 4 'The Father was in travail' and in folklore, the 'comrade'.

The *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, cited above, goes on to explain, with reference to the intention of 'bringing to birth by means of the Word' (*vācā prajānāyā*), that Prajāpati 'released the Word'¹ (*vācam vyasṛjāta*, in other words effected the separation of Heaven and Earth), and She descended as Rathantara (*vāg rothantaram avapadyata*, where *avapad* is literally to "step down"), . . . and thence was born the Brhat . . . that had lain so long within' (*jyog antar abhūt*); cf. RV., X. 124. 1, 'Thou hast lain long enough in the long-darkness' (*jyog eva dīrgham tama āsayiṣṭhāh*).² That is to say that Aditi, Magna Mater, Night, becomes Aditi, Mother Earth, and Dawn, to be represented in the ritual by the altar (*vedi*) that is the birth-place (*yoni*) of Agni: distinction is made between the Word that 'was with God and was God' from the Word as Earth Mother, or in other words of 'Mary ghostly' from 'Mary in the flesh'.³ For as we know from *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, III. 1. 7 and *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, I. 145-6, the Brhat (the Father brought to birth) corresponds to Heaven,⁴ the future (*bhaviṣyat*), and to despiration (*apāna*), the

¹ It is of interest to note the ritual parallel in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, IV. 6. 9. 24 where after sitting speechless (*vācamyamah*), the sacrificers are to 'release their speech' (*vācam visṛjeran*) according to their desires, e.g. 'May we be abundantly supplied with offspring'.

² Dīrghatamas, 'Long Darkness', one of the blind 'prophets' (*ṛṣi*) of the Rigveda, is accordingly the designation of an ab intra, occulted, form of Agni, whose relation to his younger brother Dīrghaśravas, 'Far Cry' as is that of Varuna to his younger brother Mitra or Agni, or in other words as of Death (*mṛtyu*) to Life (*āyus*). Of Dīrghaśravas it is also said that he had 'long been under restraint and lacking food' (*jyog aparuddho śayānah*, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XV. 3. 25), and all these expressions correspond to what is said of Vṛtra in RV., I. 32. 10, viz. that 'Indra's enemy lay in the long darkness (*dīrgham tama āsayat*) beneath the Waters'; the ab intra aspect of deity being that of the Dragon or Serpent (*vṛtra*, *ahi*), the procession of Prajāpati a 'creeping forth from the blind darkness' (*andhe tamasi prāsarpāt*, *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*, XVI. 1. 1) and that of the Serpents generally a 'crawling forth' (*ati sarpaṇa*) whereby they become the Suns (*ib.*, XXV. 15. 4). On this serpentine procession see my 'Angel and Titan, a study in Vedic Ontology', *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.*, 1935: the procession of Dīrghatamas requires a longer discussion.

³ Otherwise represented mythically as the rape of the Word (RV., I. 130. 9, where Indra 'steals the Word', *vācam . . . muṣāyati*), or as an analysis of the Word (RV. VII. 103. 6, X. 71. 3 and 125. 3), or again as a measurement or birth of Māyā from Māyā (*Atharva Veda*, VIII. 9. 5 'Māyā was born from Māyā', followed by the *Lalita Vistara*, Lefmann 27. 12, 'Inasmuch as her, i.e. the Buddha's mother's, likeness was modelled after that of Māyā, Māyā she was called').

⁴ Agni, although the Son, is the Father himself reborn, and immediately ascends; moreover, 'Agni is kindled by Agni' (RV., I. 12. 6). It can be said of him accordingly not only that 'Being the Father, he became the Son' (*Atharva Veda*, XIX. 53. 4) and that He is both 'the Father of the gods and their Son' (RV., I. 69. 1, see *Śatapatha Br.*, VI. 1. 2. 26), but also that 'He who heretofore was his own Son now becomes his own Father' (*Śatapatha Br.*, II. 3. 3. 5), that he is 'His Father's

Rathantara* (the Father's separated nature) to Earth, the past (*bhūtāt*), and spiration (*prāna*).¹ The same assumptions are found in *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. 53 f., substituting Sāman and R for Brhat and Rathantara: the Sāman (m.) representing intellect (*manas*) and despiration (*apāna*), the R. (f.) the Word (*vāc*) and spiration (*prāna*). The Sāman is also *in seipso* 'both she (*sā*) and he' (*ama*), and it is as a single luminous power (*virāj*)² that the conjoint principles generate the Sun, and then immediately depart from one another, this division of essence from nature, Heaven from Earth, or Night from Day being the inevitable condition of all manifestation; it is invariably the coming of the light that separates in time the Parents that are united in eternity. Now *sāman* always has reference to the music, *rc* to the articulate wording of the incantations (*rc*, *mantra*, *brahma*), so that when words are sung to measured music this represents an analysis and naturing of a heavenly music that in itself is one, and inaudible to human

father' (RV., IV. 16. 35), at once the Son and Brother of Varuṇa (RV., IV. 1. 2 and X. 51. 6), and 'Own-son' (*tanūnapat*, *passim*),—this last expression exactly corresponding to the Gnostic 'Autogenes'. It is then easy to see how Agni, although a Son of chthonic birth, can in his identity with the Sun be regarded also as the Lover of the Earth Mother; the syzygy Agni-Pṛthivi being then an aspect of the parents Heaven and Earth, Savitr-Sāvitrī, and more remotely Mitravaruṇau (*Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. 32 and *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Br.*, IV. 27, etc.).

¹ Cf. in *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II. 3. 6 the distinction of spirit (*prāna*) from body (*śarīra*), of which the former is hidden (*tira*) and the latter evident (*āvis*), like 'a' inherent and 'a' expressed: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* X. 4. 3. 9 'No one becomes deathless by means of the body, but whether it be by gnosis or by works, only after abandoning the body'.

² *Virāj*, from whom all things 'milk' their specific virtue or character, is commonly a designation of the Magna Mater, but even when so regarded is a syzygy,—'Who knoweth her progenitive duality?', *Atharva Veda*, VIII. 9. 10. The terms *virāj* and *aditi* although both usually feminine, may also have a masculine sense with similar reference to the first principle. To maintain, indeed, that any creative power considered in its creative aspect can be defined as exclusively 'male' or exclusively 'female' involves a contradiction in terms, all creation whatever being a *co*-gnition and *con*-ception; even in Christianity, the generation of the Son is 'a vital operation from a conjoint principle' (*a principio conjunctivo*, St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 45. 5), i.e. a principle that is both an essence and a nature,—'That nature by which the Father begets'. It is only when it is realized once for all that the creative power on any level of reference,—whether for example as God, or Man,—is always a unity of conjoint principles, that is to say a syzygy and *mithunatva*, that the propriety can be seen of such expressions as 'He (Agni) was born from the Titan's womb' (*asurasya jātharāt ajāyata*, RV., X. 29. 14, 'Mitra pours the seed in Varuṇa' (*retah varuṇo siñcati*, *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, XXV. 10. 10), 'My womb is the Great Brahman, therein I lay the Germ' (*Bhagavad Gītā*, XIV. 3), and many similar references to the maternity of a deity referred to by names grammatically masculine or neuter.

ears.¹ We may say accordingly that the name 'Great Liturgy' (*bṛhad uktha*, where *uktha* is from *vac*, 'to speak'), applied to Agni, e.g. in RV., V. 19. 3, represents the Son as a spoken Word, and manifested Logos²; and in the same way Indra is 'the most excellent incantation' (*jyeṣṭhaś ca mantrah*, RV., X. 50. 4).

¹ Just as in Plotinus, *Enneads*, I. 6. 3 'Harmonies unheard in sound create the harmonies we hear and wake the soul to the one essence in another nature' and V. 9. 11 'An earthly representation of the music that there is in the rhythm (= *Skr. chandānsi*) of the ideal world'. It is precisely in this sense that the ritual music, like every other part of the Sacrifice, is an imitation of 'what was done by the Divinities in the beginning' (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII. 2. 1. 4 and *passim*); which holds good no less for the Christian Mass or Sacrifice.

It may be observed that in the operation of conjoint principles we necessarily conceive of one as active, the other as passive, and say that one is agent and the other means, or that one gives and the other receives. The apparent conflict with the Christian doctrine, which denies a 'passive power' in God (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 41. 4 ad 2), is unreal. St. Thomas himself remarks that 'in every generation there is an active and a passive principle' (*Summa*, I. 98. 2c). The fact is that a distinction of this kind is determined by the necessity of speaking in terms of time and space; whereas in *divinis* action is immediate, and there is no real, but only a logical distinction of agency from means. Savitr and Sāvitrī are both equally 'wombs' (*Yonī*, *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Br.*, IV. 27). If 'One of the perfections acts (*kartā*), the other fosters' (*ṛndhan*, RV., III. 31. 2), both of these are active operations; it does not mean that either 'act' or 'fostering' represent possibilities which might or might not have been realized, but merely refers to the co-operation of the conjoint principles, intention and power. There is no distinction of potentiality from act. It is only when the creation *has taken place*, and concepts of time and space are therefore involved, that we can think of a *puro alto* as divided from *potenza* by the measure of the whole universe (Dante, *Paradiso*, XXIX. 31-36), of Heaven and Earth as 'driving apart' (*te vyadravatām*, *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Br.*, I. 54), or of 'Nature as receding from likeness to God' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 14. 11). This separation (*viyoga*) is the occasion of cosmic suffering (*traiśoka*, the pain of the Three Worlds that had once been one, *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, VIII. 1. 9, *loka-duḥkha*, 'Weltschmerz', *Kaṭha Up.*, V. 11), and it is no wonder that 'When the conjoint pair were parted, the Devas moaned, and said "Let them be wed again"' (RV., X. 24. 5); it is, however, only 'at the meeting of the ways', 'at the worlds' end', that Heaven and Earth 'embrace' (*Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Br.*, I. 5, etc.), only 'in the heart' that the marriage of Indra and Indrāṇī is really consummated (*Śatapatha Br.*, X. 5. 2. 11), that is to say in a silence and darkness that are the same as that 'Night that hides the darkness of the conjoint pair' in RV., I. 123. 7, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* interpreting this condition of unconscious cognition (*saṃvit*), perfect beatitude (*paramānanda*) and sleep (*svapna*) as an 'entering into, or being possessed by, what is one's very own' (*srāpyaya*).

² The Sacrifice in its liturgical aspect is a 'bringing to birth by means of the Word': one 'sings the Sāman on a Rc', and this is a procreative coupling (*mithunam*), identical with that of Intellect and Word (*manas* and *vāc*), Sacrifice and Guerdon (*yajña*, *dakṣiṇā*, i.e. Prajāpati and Dawn) and literally an in-form-ation of Nature, 'for were it not for Intellect, the Word would be incoherent' (*Śatapatha Br.*, III. 2. 4. 11), whereas it is in fact the 'birthplace of Order'. The Rathantara, for example, is a 'means of procreation' (*prajananam*, *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, VII. 7. 16,

The spoken Word is a harmony. In *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XXIII. 2 and XXIV. 1, 'Prajāpati is he whose name is not mentioned; this is the symbol of Prajāpati 'Aloud' in 'Sing aloud, O thou of wide radiance' (Agni) is a symbol of the Brhat'. In *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 1. 1. 15 the triumphant Jubilate of the spoken Word is described as follows: 'She (the Earth, *bhūmi*, being *prthivī*, 'spread out'), feeling herself altogether complete (*sarvā kṛtsnā*), sang (*agāyat*); and because she 'sang', therefore she is Gāyatrī. They say too that 'It was Agni, indeed, on her back (*prsthe*)¹ who, feeling himself altogether complete, sang; and inasmuch as he sang, therefore he is Gāyatra. And hence whosoever feels himself altogether complete, either sings or delights in song.'

We have thus briefly discussed the divine nativity from certain points of view in order to bring out the correspondences of the Vedic and the Gnostic references to the Silence. In both traditions the authentic and integral powers on every level of reference are syzygies of conjoint principles, male and female; summarizing the Gnostic doctrine of the Aeons (Vedic *amṛtasaḥ* = *devāḥ*) we may say that ab intra and informally these are Bythos and Sige, 'Abyss', and 'Silence', and ab extra, formally, Nous and Ennoia or Sophia, 'Intellect'

corresponding to *prajananam* as 'mistress' *viśpatnī*, the 'mother' of Agni in RV., III. 29. 1; Sāvitrī in this sense is identified with the metres (*chandānsi*) and called the 'Mother of the Vedas' (*Gopatha Br.*, I. 33 and 38), which 'metres' are commonly referred to as the means *par excellence* of reintegration (*samskarana*, *Aitareya Br.*, VI. 27, etc.), and in her conjunction with Savitrī presents an analogy with the Gnostic Ecclesia ('Mother Church') and Gnosis as constituting with the Man (Anthropos = Prajāpati, Agni, Manu) a syzygy. In this connection also there should be noted the close relationship of the words *mātrā*, *mātr*, and *māyā*, 'metre', 'mother', and 'magical-means' or 'matrix'; *mā* to 'measure' and *nir-mā*, to 'measure out' being constantly employed not only in the sense of giving form and definition but in the closely related senses of creating or giving birth to, notably in RV., III. 38. 3, III. 53. 15, X. 5. 3, X. 125. 8, *Atharva Veda*, VIII., 9. 5, and in the well-known expression *nirmāṇa-kāya* denoting precisely the assumed and actually manifested and born 'body' of the Buddha.

Sacrifice and birth are inseparable concepts; the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, indeed proposes the hermeneia, 'yajña, because "yañ jayate"'. Sacrifice is divisive, a 'breaking of bread'; the product is articulated and articulate. The Sacrifice is a spreading out, a making a tissue or web of the Truth (*satyaṁ tanavāmahā*, *Śatapatha Br.*, IX. 5. 1. 18), a metaphor commonly employed elsewhere in connection with the raying of the fontal light, which forms the texture of the worlds. Just as the kindling of Agni is the making perceptible and evident of a hidden light, so the utterance of the chants is the making perceptible of a silent principle of sound. The spoken Word is a revelation of the Silence, the measures the trace of what is in itself is immeasurable.

¹ *Prsthe*, i.e. either (1) with reference to Agni's being seated on the earthen altar (*vedi*) which is his birthplace (*yoni*), and/or (2) with reference to Agni's being supported by the *Prstha*-stotra, of which hymn the Gāyatrī is the mother by Prajāpati, *Pañcaviṃśa Br.*, VII. 8. 8.

and 'Wisdom', and without going into further detail, that Sige corresponds to Vedic *tuṣṇī* and Nous to *manas*, Sige and Sophia respectively to the hidden and manifested aspects of Aditi-Vāc; and also that the 'fall' of the Word (*vāg . . avapadyata*, cited above), and her purification as R̥c, Apālā, Sūryā (*Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*, I. 53f., RV., VIII. 91 and X. 85) correspond to the fall and redemption of Sophia and the Shekinah in the Gnostic and Qabbalistic traditions respectively. In what are really more academic rather than more 'orthodox' forms of Christianity, the two aspects of the Voice, within and without, are those of 'that nature by which the Father begets' and 'that nature which recedes from likeness to God, and yet retains a certain likeness to the divine being' (St. Thomas, *Summa*, I. 41. 5c and I. 14. 11 ad 3), respectively the eternal and the temporal Theotokoi.

Let us repeat in conclusion that the Supreme Identity is neither merely silent nor merely vocal, but literally a no-what that is at the same time indefinable and partially defined, an unspoken and a spoken Word.

ASCÉTICISM IN PRE-BUDDHIST DAYS

By RATILAL MEHTA

It has been a common belief, since the time of Max Müller and other philosophically-minded workers in the field of Oriental Research, that the people of India have remained, through all ages, spiritually-minded, that they leaned more and more towards renunciation of worldly-life, rather than take interest in their day-to-day work, or pursuit the practical ways for scientific knowledge.

Now this is a wrong belief which seems to have been founded on and developed from the reading of purely sectarian Literature and from a religious view-point only. The reading seems to have been confined mainly to the religious and philosophic points and subjects treated in the Brahmanic, Buddhist or Jaina texts. The other side, that of the representation of the life and mind of the common people as against that of the minority of learned authors of these texts, seems to have been completely ignored.

The above-spoken-of renunciation spirit is said to have been most rampant in the days of Gotama Buddha, Mahāvīra and a little earlier. In this paper I try to get an impression of that other side of the thing from the *Jātaka* stories which can be taken to represent the common life of the pre-Buddhist period. It will be seen that asceticism was not so wide a phenomenon as has been maintained uptil now.

The New Ideal.—Ascetic ideals and practices are found in very early stages of society. But their aims have been changing ever since. With the rise of the doctrine of rebirth,² actions and their consequences (*kammaphala*),³ human life and its values began to appear in a different aspect. Life with an unending chain of repeated existences became something to be escaped.⁴ Philosophic thoughts turned towards asceticism, more vigorously than ever

¹ Read before the Buddhist Society, Ananda Vihāra, Bombay, on 28th June, 1936.

² *Jātaka* (henceforth abbreviated *J.*), II, p. 17; VI, pp. 189—*gāthā* (abb. *g.*), 828—*'cavanti upapajjanti es' assa parināmita'*; 239—*g.* 1075—*'asāṅkheyyāpi jātiyo'*.

³ *J.*, I, p. 350; II, p. 202—*g.* 143; III, p. 158—*g.* 15; IV, p. 397—*g.* 39.

⁴ *J.*, III, p. 434—*g.* 17; cf. the pathetic words of Vessantara who addresses his son and daughter:

'Be thou my ship to ferry me safe over existence's sea,
Beyond the world's men and gods I'll cross and free I'll be:

—*J.*, VI, p. 546—*g.* 2144-6.

before, but with a different aim. That aim was more of self-purification and realization of the Eternal Truths than anything else. And this ascetic ideal slowly but steadily permeated through the whole mass of people in those days.

There were two groups of ascetics, viz. the *Samanas* and the *Brāhmanas* or the Recluse-philosophers and the Hermits. The order of the *Paribbājakas* or the Wanderers strictly so called, was yet to come. At any rate, its existence is not as clear in the *Jātaka* stories as it is in the Buddhist *Nikāyas*.

The Older Hermits.—The institution of Hermits (*isi : tāpasa*) is of course very old. In course of time, however, in the days of Yājñavalkya who alludes to both the *Śramanas* and the *Tāpasas*, and also perhaps not long before the rise of Buddhism, a new order of *religieux* was formed, who called themselves *Śramanas*—to distinguish themselves both from the hermits who practised penance and sacrifice in the wood, and the *Brāhmanas* who were householders.¹ The institution of hermits or *isis* was not completely wiped out. And people still cherished the fond memory of old sages—Yāmahanu, Somayāga, Manojava, Samudda, Magha, Bharata, Kālikara, and Kassapa Āṅgīrasa, Akitti and Kīsavaccha,² who by practising *tapassā* attained to *Brahmaloka*. These hermits (*pabbajitas*) of the stories, as Prof. Rhys Davids puts it,³ lived in the forests adjoining the settlements, according to the various tendencies of the schools to which they belonged, either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practices of self-torture, or in repeating over to themselves and in teaching to their pupils, the *suttas* containing the tenets of their school. Much time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance . . . And there was difference of opinion and of practice, as to the comparative importance attached to the learning of the texts. But the hermitages where the learning, or the repeating of texts was unknown, were the exceptions.

Life of the Pabbajitas.—Usually the *pabbajitas* retired to the sylvan and lonely forests of the Himalayas.⁴ There they built small and suitable huts of grass and leaves.⁵ Foot-paths (*padika-magga*) led to these hermitages (*assama*).⁶ There were also separate marked-out places where the hermits had their daily walk (*caṅkamaṇakoṭi*).⁷ The usual requisites of an ascetic (*pabba-*

¹ Barua, *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, pp. 239-40.

² *J.*, VI, p. 99—g. 422-3.

³ *Buddhist India*, pp. 140-1.

⁴ *J.*, I, p. 140; II, pp. 103, 269; III, p. 515; IV, p. 221.

⁵ *J.*, I, p. 375; VI, p. 75.

⁶ *J.*, IV, p. 489; V, p. 132; VI, pp. 74, 532—g. 2037.

⁷ *J.*, IV, p. 329; VI, p. 232.

jitaparikkhāra) were : robes, inner and outer, dyed in bark (*rattavakacīram*), antelope's skin (*ajina*) thrown over the shoulder, a walking-staff in hand (*danda*), shoes (*upānaha*), umbrella (*chattam*), hook (*aṅkusa*) for gathering fruits, etc. and a bowl (*pattam*).¹ The hermits, unlike the *Samana-pabbajitas*, kept long locks of matted hair and tied them in a coil (*jatāmandalam*), and, if need be thrust needles in them.² They wore a girdle of *muṇja* grass.³ A wooden bedstead (*katthaththaraka*) was kept in the hut.⁴ As to their food, they generally lived upon wild bulbs and radishes, catmint and herbs, wild rice, black mustard ('spread out to dry'), jujubs, herbs, honey, lotus-fibres, myrobalan, scraps of meat.⁵ The daily routine in the hermitages was something like this : The hermitage was swept clean in the morning, water was brought from the near-by river, wild roots and fruits were collected, wood chopped for fuel, food prepared and eaten, little rest at noon, study and discussion in the afternoon, evening-meal and rest at night.⁶ They constantly tended the 'holy fire' (*Jātaveda*).⁷ When a stranger approached a hermit dwelling in the forest, he would first of all inquire as to his welfare in the usual formal words :

'O holy man, I trust that you are prosperous and well,
With grain to glean, and roots and fruit abundant where you
dwell ;
Have you been much by flies and gnats and creeping things
annoyed,
Or from wild beasts of prey have you immunity enjoyed ?'

And the same sweet reply was given by the hermit with an affectionate reception :

¹ J., I, p. 304 ; III, p. 82 ; IV, pp. 25, 129, 476—g. 294-5 ; V, pp. 312, 232—g. 124 ; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528—g. 2011.

² J., I, pp. 304-375 ; V, pp. 132 ; VI, pp. 21, 73, 528—g. 2011 ; 242 ; *Jatilo* : IV, p. 476 ; V, p. 202—g. 28.

³ J., V, p. 202—g. 32. The stock description of a hermit is : 'with uncleansed teeth (*paṅkadanto*), and goatskin garb (*kharājino*) and hair all matted (*jatilo*) and muttering holy words in peace (*japanito*)' : J., III, p. 236—g. 10 ; IV, p. 299—g. 62 ; VI, p. 336—g. 2037-8.

⁴ J., II, p. 41 ; VI, p. 21, 158.

⁵ J., I, p. 450 ; IV, pp. 221, 306, 371-2—g. 269-86 : *ālulakambāni, bilālitakkalāni, sāmākanivāraṇaṃ, sākaṃ, bhisam, madhum, maṃsam, badarāmalakāṃ* ; ascetic and hermits taking strong drink and meat was not a common thing : J., I, pp. 361-2 ; II, p. 262, 382 ; V, p. 235 ; VI, p. 63 ; cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, p. 230.

⁶ J., IV, 221—g. 40 ; V, pp. 313ff. ; VI, p. 75.

⁷ J., I, pp. 285, 494 ; II, pp. 43-4 ; V, p. 476 (*aggisālā*) ; VI, p. 201—g. 872 ; *Mahāvagga*, I. 15. 2.

'I thank you, brahmin, yes, I am both prosperous and well,
'With grain to glean and roots and fruit abundant while I dwell ;•

From flies and gnats and creeping things I suffer not annoy,
And from wild beasts of prey I here immunity enjoy.

'In all the innumerable years I've lived upon this ground,
No harmful sickness that I know has ever here been found ;
Welcome O brahmin, bless the chance directed you this way,
Come, enter with a blessing, come, and wash your feet I pray,
The *tinduk* and the *piyāl* leaves, and *kāsumāri* sweet,
And fruits like honey, brahmin, take the best I have, and eat,
And this cool water from a cave high hidden on a hill,
O noble brahmin, take of it and drink if it be your will.'¹

In the rainy season, the recluses came down from the mountains. For, as it is said, in the Himalayas, during the rainy season, when the rains are incessant, as it is impossible to dig up any bulb or root or to get any wild fruits, and the leaves begin to fall, the ascetics for the most part come down from the Himalayas and take up their abode amidst the haunts of men.² After the rains were over, they returned to the mountains, for then the flowers and fruits began ripening.³ And they thus lived on in peace and solitary calmness, thinking out the mysteries of this and the 'other' world, and deep problems for humanity at large, with hundreds of disciples around them, freed of all desires and fetters. These silent recluses, though living far from the mundane world, did no doubt influence the existing society to a great extent. *Dhamma* was recognized to be the 'standard' of the *isis*⁴ ; to injure the *isis* in any way was a great sin.⁵ Men besought these sages for the solution of intricate problems affecting them, and the way to peace, order and happiness.⁶

The virtues of an ideal ascetic are thus enumerated : He has no anger towards anyone, even when angered, does not allow it to be seen, bears hunger with a pinched belly, restrained in eating and drinking, has abandoned all sport and pleasure, utters no falsehood, is averse to all pomp and carnal desire, has nothing as his own, is resolute, unselfish, has forbearance and freedom from all

¹ J., IV, p. 434—g. 150-3 ; V, p. 323—g. 130-9 ; VI, p. 532—g. 2041-8 ; cf. the sweet words of Vāsanti, the 'Forest Deity', in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacaritam*, II, 1.

² J., II, p. 85 ; III, p. 37.

³ J., II, p. 72.

⁴ J., V, p. 509—g. 490—' *dhammo hi isinamdhajo* '.

⁵ J., II, p. 172—g. 124 ; IV, p. 383—g. 9 ; V, pp. 143-4—g. 69, 73.

⁶ J., IV, pp. 134—g. 97-9—' *Samaṇā anusasanti isi dhammoguneraṭā* ' ; 395—g. 31.

hindrances to religious perfection—all properly fitted in him like the spokes in the nave of a wheel.¹

Sham Ascetics.—But, as always, there may have existed sham ascetics as well (*kūta-tāpaso : kūta-jaṭilo*). We must not, however, be led away by the descriptions of these ascetics in the *Jātakas* which, averse as they are to all kinds of penance and austerities, paint them in exaggeratedly bad colours. We may, nevertheless, note them in order to discern some reality at least.²

We have seen that gradually the *Samaṇas*, the newly-risen ascetic-order, broke away from past traditions, revolted against the older Vedic system of sacrifice and self-mortification.³ The *Jātakas* show particular hatred against austerities and false practices (*samādānaṃ*),⁴ many of which are enumerated. Some did the swinging penance (*vaggulivataṃ*),⁵ some lay on thorn-beds (*kaṇṭaka-sayyaṃ*),⁶ some underwent the five-fire penance (*pañca-tāpaṃ*).⁷ Some practised the mortification by squatting (*ukkuṭikappadhanam*).⁸ Some did the act of diving (*udaka-gāhana*), and some repeated texts (*maṇṭe sajjāpentī*).⁹ Various and many are the instances, in these stories, wherein hypocritical, lewd, sham and many other types of ascetics are portrayed. Quite consistently with their aversion towards ascetic appearances, and with their character as folk-tales, these stories occasionally cast slur and bitter satire on outward show of hypocritical saintliness. In the *Kāsāva Jātaka*,¹⁰ a sham ascetic clothes himself in a yellow robe, puts on the guise of a *paccekabuddha*, with a covering about his head (*paṭisāsakam*). Elsewhere,¹¹ a sham ascetic misconducts himself in the royal chamber at night, and stands by day in a cemetery on one foot worshipping the sun. But the satire bites most pungently in the beast-fables. The *Bilāra*

¹ *J.*, VI, pp. 257–61—g. (?) ; cf. *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, I. I. 3.

² For an exhaustive treatment of the subject from various sources, see Maurice Bloomfield's article 'On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction': *J.A.O.S.*, 44, pp. 202ff.

³ See Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

⁴ *J.*, I, p. 391.

⁵ See *J.P.T.S.*, 1884, p. 95.

⁶ Pictures of ascetics doing penance on thorns are not at all rare nowadays : for instance, see *The National Geographic Magazine*, 24, pp. 1268, 1269, 1270, 1279.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1286 ; the penance consists of sitting between four fires, the sun burning down upon the head as the fifth : Richard Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien*, pp. 17, 158, 168, 181.

⁸ As though they had remained so for years.

⁹ *J.*, III, p. 235 ; IV, p. 299 ; V, p. 241—g. 160 ; cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 226–32.

¹⁰ *J.*, II, pp. 197–8—g. 140–1.

¹¹ *J.*, III, pp. 303ff.

Jātaka,¹ for instance, presents before us a jackal, unaccountably substituted in the story for the cat which is clearly the original subject as is indicated by both the title and the *gāthā*, which shams asceticism to beguile the troop of rats: Morning and evening the rats come to pay their respects to the saintly jackal. 'Godly is my name', says the jackal. 'Why do you stand on one leg?' 'Because, if I stood on all four at once, the earth could not bear my weight. That is why I stand on one leg only.' 'And why do you keep your mouth open?' 'To take the air. I live on air: it is my only food.' 'And why do you face the sun?' 'To worship him.' The saintly jackal always seizes and devours the last of the troop as they depart, wipes his lips and looks as if nothing had happened. At last he is caught. And the *Bodhisatta* has to declare:

"Where saintliness is but a cloak,
Whereby to cozen guileless folk,
And screen a villain's treachery
—The cat-like nature there we see."²

In the *Aggika Jātaka*,³ again, the jackal happens to have all the hair singed off his body by a forest-fire so that he is left perfectly bald, except for a tuft like a scalp-knot where the crown of his head is pressed against a tree. Drinking from a pool, he catches sight of his top-knot reflect in the water, and exclaims: 'At last I've got wherewithal to go to market'. He then poses as Bhāradvāja, votary of the God of Fire (*aggika*) and does the same mischief as in the previous instance.⁴ In the *Vaka Jātaka*,⁵ a wolf living on a rock is once surrounded by the winter-floods (*himodakam*), and to make the best of a bad business, decides to keep the fast (*uposatha*: *nikkammassa pana nipajjanto uposathakammam varam*), but when he sees a goat, he at once tries to catch him, thinking to keep the fast on another day. And as he cannot get at the goat, he still maintains: 'Well, my fast is not broken after all', thus revealing his hypocritical nature.⁶ Similarly we read of a monkey in order to obtain food, putting on the airs of a holy man—bark dress, lifting a basket and a crooked stick, seeking alms and worshipping the sun.⁷ In the bird-world, we find a shore-sighting crow (*disākāka*) as a typical sham ascetic. After the wreck of the merchant-ship

¹ *J.*, I, pp. 460-1.

² *J.*, I, pp. 461-2.

³ *J.*, II, pp. 450-1.

⁴ *J.*, II, pp. 68-9—g. 44; also II, pp. 72-3—g. 48; 269-70—g. 199.

⁵ *J.*, I, p. 461—g. 124.

⁶ *J.*, I, p. 462—g. 125.

⁷ *J.*, II, pp. 451—g. 148-50.

he reaches an island, is happy at seeing a great flock of birds 'whose eggs and young' he can eat. Very elaborately he shams asceticism and preaches a sermon to the birds. The birds put their young ones in his charge. When they go to their feeding ground, the crow eats away their eggs and young. He is, at last, caught red-handed and killed.¹ And thus with distinct ironic intention and a humorous touch, these stories expose the hypocrisy that is sometimes found in asceticism. As Maurice Bloomfield, writing on the subject,² has said, 'both with man and animal these mock descriptions of ascetic get-up figure so largely as to show them to be the reflex of a settled scepticism as to the sincerity or efficacy of such professions in general, dashed strongly with contempt in the mind at least of the intellectual story-teller if not altogether in the mind of the average listener to such stories. It must be understood, however, that this attitude of mind does not exclude faith in really sincere professors of these practices. In spite of their evil ways the populace stands in awe and shows honour to the profession.'³

The *Jātakas* make no secret of the vices that attended on sham ascetics. As hypocrisy, so lust, greed, gluttony and sundry other vices are standard qualities attributed to these ascetics, monks other religious folk. We have instances of lewd ascetics who lead a corrupted life in the darkness of night and pretend saintliness by day, as in the *Dhajavijetha Jātaka*.⁴ 'Being, in theory, immune to the lure of women, and therefore ineligible as lovers and husbands, they are driven by their evil instincts to resort to some crafty device to obtain their end.'⁵ After all, biological instincts and moral forces have always been in conflict, and are perhaps destined to remain so for a pretty long time.

We also find covetous ascetics, where the ideal is of complete renunciation. One of the ascetics under Mahārakkhita in the *Somanassa Jātaka*,⁶ returns back, pleases the king who assigns to him a place in his park, as one of his own household. The ascetic plants vegetables, pot-herbs, and runners, sells them in the market and amasses wealth. Elsewhere,⁷ we find a shifty rascal of an ascetic (*kūṭajaṭila : kuhakatāpasa*) who carries away the money given to him by a village squire to keep it safely, and still shows himself the most innocent and pure-minded man ever born on earth, bringing back even a straw of the roof of the squire's hut which had stuck in his hair. Instances may be multiplied to show the weak and

¹ J., III, pp. 267-70—g. 64-9.

² Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 245.

³ J.A.O.S., 44, p. 218.

⁷ J., I, p. 375.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁴ J., III, pp. 303ff.

⁶ J., IV, pp. 444ff.

vicious character of ascetics.¹ But we should not tarry too long on the subject. The impression is unavoidable that there was a distinct move towards scepticism over older methods of asceticism, for which the ascetics themselves, more than anything else, were responsible.

The Sāmaṇas.—And here, in the course of our discussion, may well step in those other ascetics, the *Sāmaṇas*, who undoubtedly played a very important part in moulding the material as well as spiritual life of the people a little earlier than the time of the Buddha, and whose representative philosophies can be noticed from the *Mahā-bōdhi Jātaka*.² This important order of teachers, like the *paribbājakas*, was not known in India much before the rise of Buddhism. The remarks of Prof. Rhys Davids³ regarding the 'wanderers' may well apply to the *Sāmaṇas* in general: 'Besides the hermits, there was another body of men, greatly respected throughout the country... They were teachers or sophists who spent eight or nine months of every year wandering about precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions on matters of ethics and philosophy, nature-lore and mysticism. Like the sophists among the Greeks, they differed very much in intelligence, in earnestness and in honesty.' The time had already come for the earnest thinkers like Satyavāha Bhāradvāja, who represents the common case of all who called themselves *Sramanas* against worldly *Brāhmaṇas*, to uphold transcendentalism against both asceticism as largely practiced by the Vedic ascetics and worldly life as regulated with Puritanic strictness by the *Brāhmaṇa* priests and jurists, and thus prepare the way for the rationalism of the Buddha who enunciated the Middle-path (*majjhima-paṭipadā*) and sought for a '*via media*' of thought, conduct and intellectual training.⁴

It is difficult to distinguish exactly between the wanderers (*paribbājakas*) strictly so called, and the Recluse philosophers (*sāmaṇas*) who were also in a sense, a class of wanderers.⁵ The

¹ Cf. for gluttonous nature and rude manners: *J.*, I, pp. 480ff.; II, pp. 382ff.; III, pp. 84ff.—g. 97-8; 137ff.; 537ff.; treachery upon a confiding friend: *J.*, V, pp. 75ff—g. 226-7—'*acelo samaṇo ayaṃ sammato bhāvitatto*'.

² *J.*, V, pp. 228ff.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

⁴ Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁵ In fact there are many points of resemblance between the two orders—the earlier Recluse philosophers (*sāmaṇas*) on the one hand and the later Wanderers (*paribbājakas*) on the other. Both sought to build up a system of moral philosophy entirely upon a human or rational ground rather than on a theocratic basis. The Wanderers proper, by their views and ways of life furnished a connecting link between the Recluses on one hand and the *Brāhmaṇas* on the other: Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-50.

most outstanding factors which distinguished the new order of *religieux* (*samanas* : *paribbājakas*) from the older one were that they shaved their head clean¹ and begged their food (*bhikkhācariyam*),² instead of feeding like the *tāpasas* or *isis*, on pot herbs and fruits. It was perhaps from the practice of begging that they became later on known as *Bhikkhus* or mendicants. The origin of this order of *religieux* is now obscure. But it is probable, as Prof. Rhys Davids has said,³ that the *Bhikkhu* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food.

The outer appearance of a *samana* was also distinctive. He did not keep hair and beard : he wore three yellow (*kāsāva*) robes (*tivivaram*)—one as underdress, the other as upper and the third he wrapped round his shoulders ; his earthen vessel (*patto*) he put in a bag and fastened it on his left shoulder ; he held a walking staff (*kattaradandam*) in his hand ; and he also kept with him a razor (*vāsi*), a needle (*sūci*), a strainer (*bandhanam*), and a zone (*parissavana*).⁴ He had to stitch his own robe.⁵

The *Samanas*, whether *Brāhmaṇas* by birth or not, were highly respected by the common folk as well as by kings and the nobility. These homeless ascetics, as we saw before, wandered about the country precisely with the object of engaging in conversational discussions and preaching the *dhamma* or the simple ethical code of the laity. They are sometimes represented as meeting one another at the parks outside the royal cities or at resthouses (*sālā*) set up by the villagers on the roadside for the common use of the travellers. Usually they took their abode in the royal park (*rajjuyyānam*) outside the city and went a-begging in the city where they invariably were received and respected with greetings (*paṭisanthāram*) by the king.⁶ It was a common custom with the people at large to respect these ascetics, give them food, place for residing and other necessities of life and to ask them questions pertaining to *dhamma*.⁷ In their eyes these ascetics were dear (*piyā*) and vener-

¹ E.g., J., III, p. 371 ; V, p. 187—g. 222 ; VI, p. 52.

² J., I, pp. 333, 361, 373, 406, 505 ; III, pp. 39, 79, 143, 238 ; IV, p. 299.

³ *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 215ff. ; Barua, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-2. Later on both the words *bhikkhu* and *samana* came to be applied specially for the Buddhist monks.

⁴ J., III, p. 377—g. (?) ; IV, p. 342 ; V, p. 187 ; VI, p. 52.

⁵ J., IV, p. 25.

⁶ J., I, pp. 140, 333, 361, 373, 406, 505 ; III, pp. 39, 79, 119, 143, 238, 352, 440 ; V, p. 482.

⁷ J., I, pp. 187, 298, 480 ; III, pp. 304ff. ; IV, pp. 28-30 ; 178—g. 46 ; 299, 320 ; VI, pp. 287—g. 1247 ; 296—g. 1298 ; 378—g. (?)

able (*māṇāpā*), and their words worthy to be received.¹ To kings they advised on matters of polity and administration, and to the common folk they showed the right way of living from which the ethical *dhamma* began to grow and develop. Thus they became real reformers, whose vehicle of expression was the language of the common people.

Career open to all.—The career of such a wandering teacher or a homeless ascetic seems to have been open to anyone, and even to women. 'Not only did world-sick old people renounce the world, but even kings who were in undisputed possession of sovereignty and in the fulness of their power; young princes preferred the severe life of the ascetic to the glitter of sovereign power, rich tradesmen gave away their riches and heads of families their wives and children in order to build a hut in the forests of the Himalayas and to live on roots and fruits or to eke out an existence by begging alms.'²

Wave of Renunciation.—But why did people turn towards asceticism? The philosophy of life, then prevalent, was no doubt largely responsible for this. The political conflicts with war, tyranny, lawlessness, and general immorality in their train, and corrupt social practices such as the domination of one class over another, of men over women, and of masters over slaves and servants, the ruthlessness of criminal laws and in the economic field, the system of usury: all combined to bring the problem of misery to forefront. 'There is suffering: this is the inexhaustible theme which, now in the strict forms of abstract philosophical discussion and now in the garment of practical proverb, ever more comes ringing in our ears from the Buddhist literature.'³ The doctrine of *karma* and Rebirth was far deeply rooted in the minds of the people. And the philosophers of every shade and opinion, in spite of their speculations and discussions, 'could only produce extravagant theories, pernicious in their moral consequences and detrimental to the source of distinctions between truth and falsehood, vice and virtue, beauty and deformity'.⁴ In consequence, the people at large were worried at the thought of the transitoriness of earthly goods, of the unworthiness of human existence. And this supplied generally the impulse (*ārammaṇaṃ*) to renounce the world:

¹ *J.*, V, p. 315; VI, pp. 190, 242.

² Fick, *Social Organization*, pp. 67-8; see specially *J.*, IV, p. 238; a barber in III, p. 452; *Caṇḍālas*, IV, p. 392; *Kulaputtas*, V, p. 263.

³ Oldenberg, *Buddha*, pp. 212-3, 221.

⁴ Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

How transient are all component beings!
 Growth is their nature and decay ;
 They are produced, they are dissolved again,
 And then is best—when they have sunk to rest.¹

Cause of Renunciation.—This is the keynote of the whole pessimistic philosophy. The prince of the *Yuvāñjaya Jātaka*² sees some dew-drops (*ussavabindu*) which sparkled in the early morning, like pearls in a necklace, on the leaves of the trees, on blades of grass and in the webs of the spiders, disappearing in the evening, and he says to himself : ' Even this life, this being, is like the dew-drop which hangs from the top of the blade of grass . . . I will become an ascetic before disease, age and death overcome me.'³ As in this case a dew-drop, so in other cases a grey hair is the *ārammaṇaṃ*, the cause of renunciation.⁴ Sometimes,⁵ it is the signs of the heaven such as the capture of the moon by Rāhu, that bring the transitoriness of things to the forefront. At another time,⁶ a rich *Brāhmaṇa* reads on a golden tablet in his jewel-room, the name of his ancestors who left the property, and he thinks : ' Those who won this wealth are seen no more, but the wealth is still seen ; not one of them could take it where he is gone ; we cannot tie our wealth in a bundle and take it with us to the next world '. He then goes away to the Himalayas amid the lamentations and tears of a great multitude. Once, owing to the unwillingness of the two sons to set up a household, the whole *Brāhmaṇa* family renounces worldly life.⁷ Similarly a *Brāhmaṇa*, seeing his wife dead leaving a son, thinks of the impermanence of life and goes away to the Himalayas with his son.⁸ Thus this tendency of renunciation appears to have been widely prevalent in the *Jātaka* times. But it was surely no *en masse* exodus to the Himalayas as the stories, with their inherent tendency to generalize, would seem to suggest. As a matter of fact, it was not the thought of higher metaphysical speculations that led

¹ *J.*, I, p. 392—g. 94 :

*aniccā vata saṅkhārā uppāḍavayadhammino,
 uppajjītvā nirujjanti tesaṃ āpasamo sukho.*

see also : *J.*, I, pp. 168—g. 17 ; 406 ; III, pp. 98—g. 114 ; 163—7—g. 19—28 ; 239 ; IV p. 220.

² *J.*, IV, pp. 119ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 120—: *Sattānaṃ jīvitasāṅkhārāpi tinagge ussavabindusadisā, mayā vyādhijarāmaranehi āpāṭiten'eva . . . pabbajitum vattati* ; also g. 76.

⁴ *J.*, I, p. 138 ; III, p. 393 ; V, p. 177.

⁵ *J.*, III, p. 364.

⁶ *J.*, IV, pp. 7-8.

⁷ *J.*, V, p. 313.

⁸ *J.*, IV, p. 220 ; also I, p. 245 ; II, p. 422 ; III, p. 300.

the ordinary people, the masses, to look to the forest life for relief. It seems, on the contrary, that generally failures in practical life and experience of its miseries and treacheries¹ would lead men to run away from the world, and that too amid the lamentations and beseechings of their near and dear.² Naturally the relations who may have to suffer in consequence of their supporters going away, try to dissuade him in every possible way. Everywhere we hear about these conflicts. For instance, in the *Bandhanāgāra Jātaka*,³ we read of a poor *gahapati* supporting his mother by working for hire. His mother, quite against his will, brings a wife for him, and dies soon after. Then his wife becomes pregnant; he knows nothing of her condition; and one day says to her: 'My wife, you must earn your living, I will renounce the world'. 'But I am pregnant, wait and see the child that is born of me, and then go and become a hermit.' He agrees. And when she is delivered he says: 'Now, wife, you are safely delivered and I must turn hermit'. 'Wait', she says, 'till the time when the child is weaned (*thanapānato apagamanakāle*)'. And after that she becomes pregnant for the second time. 'If I agree to her request', the man thinks, 'I shall never get away at all'. And so without informing her he gets up at night and flees away. And surely, we think, he is protesting against the general mentality when he utters:

'Not iron fetters—so the wise have told—
Not ropes, or bars of wood, so fast can hold,
As passion, and the love of child or wife,
Of precious gems and earrings of fine gold.
These heavy fetters—who is there can find
Release from such!—these are the ties that bind:
These if the wise can burst, then they are free,
Leaving all love and all desire behind.'⁴

The *Cullasutasoma Jātaka*,⁵ presenting before us a typical and a very pathetic scene, shows what a tremendous force may have been acting against the spirit of renunciation. The king seeing grey hair on his head, thinks of renouncing the world. He gathers the whole townsfolk (*mahājano*) and informs them about his intention. One by one the ministers, much grieved to hear this, dissuade him. The mother comes: the king does not mind her tears; the father laments and asks: 'What is this Law that leads thee to become

¹ J. II, p. 422; III, p. 540.

² J., I, p. 440; V, pp. 177ff.—g. 192-241; also III, p. 396; IV, p. 8.

³ J., II, pp. 139-41.

⁴ J. II, p. 140—g. 97-8: *Dhammapada*, 345-6; also J., III, pp. 395-6—g. 117-20.

⁵ J., V, pp. 177-92—g. 191-241.

eager to quit thy kingdom and thy home ! With thy old parents left behind to dwell here all alone, seek'st thou a hermit's cell !' The Great Being is silent ; he is unmoved even at the reference of his children of tender years. His wives come and embracing his feet, bewail most piteously. He does not hear this, nor ever his queen-consort's heart-rending request. The eldest son comes and most stubbornly resists ; but the father only thinks the ways and means to get rid of him. The state-officials come and request his presence in the kingdom. He is unmoved. To all who try to dissuade him, his only answer is : ' But holy orders I must take, that I may heavenly bliss attain (*saggañca paṭṭhayāno*)'. He goes away at last and the people frantically search for him, but of no avail.¹ The whole idea behind this story is of course to show the invincible determination of those who are bent upon renunciation. But giving every latitude to poetic and legendary exaggerations and objective colouring, the fact cannot be gainsaid that it was a hard conflict, that between home-life and ascetic-ideal.

Gharāvāsa praised.—Glories of worldly life have not remained unsung :

' Houses in the world are sweet,
Full of food, and full of treasure :
There you have your fill of meat—
Eating and drinking at your pleasure.' ²

This simple praise of householder's life (*gharāvāsa*) must have impressed more upon the minds of the people than this unconvincing argument in favour of renunciation (*pabbajjā*) or rather against *gharāvāsa* :

' He that hath houses peace can never know,
He lies, and cheats, he must deal many a blow
On others' shoulders ; nought this fault can cure,
Then who into a house would willing go ? ' ³

¹ Cf. ' From the unprofitableness of a state of being to which they had not learnt to give stability by labours and struggles for ends worthy of labour and struggle, men fly to seek peace for the soul in a renunciation of the world. The rich and the noble still more than the poor and the humble, the young wearied of life before life had well begun, rather than the old who have nothing more to hope from life, women and maidens abandon their homes and don the garb of monks and nuns. Everywhere we meet pictures of those struggles which every day must have brought, in that period, between those who make this resolution and the parents, the wife, the children who detain those eager for renunciation ; acts of invincible determination are narrated of those who, in spite of all opposition have managed to burst the bond which bound them to home-life.'—Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 66.

² *J.*, II, p. 232—g. 168.

³ *J.*, II, p. 233—g. 169.

Similarly the bold assertion that :

- ' In lonesome forest one may well be pure,
'Tis easy there temptation to endure ;
But in a village with seductions rife
- A man may rise to a far nobler life.¹

must have produced not an insignificant appeal on the masses.

Not a mass-wide phenomenon.—The fact of the matter seems to be, that it is in the spiritual region that we have to seek cause of this asceticism ; the practice of world-renunciation is only an outward expression of the striving for knowledge and for emancipation, *mokṣa*, or to use the Buddhist term *nirvāṇa*.² Neither the spiritual yearning nor the striving after knowledge and emancipation could have been so intense and all-embracing as to render the practice of renunciation a mass-wide phenomenon. Even in the heyday of Buddhism and even of Jainism, it was not so. It could not be, for the simple reason that the masses were, as they always are, psychologically too pre-occupied with their daily struggles for existence to look to anything beyond this world. And it is for this reason that ethics, the religion of the lay man, the rules and principles for life as it should happily be lived, found the best favour with the ordinary mass of the people.³

This is what we see when Lord Buddha arrives on the scene. His *majjhima-paṭipadā* or the *via-media* really brought about a rapprochement between the two different sections of the people, between those on the one hand who were solely devoted to spiritual quests unmindful of worldly affairs, and those others who were wholly steeped in worldly affairs, not striving after some noble ideals of conduct. The rapprochement indeed brought about a mass-mentality which tried to lead the people, through all their worldly joys and sorrows, hopes and fears, cares and anxieties, to a noble way of living which did satisfy their spiritual consciousness and yearnings.

¹ *J.*, III, p. 524—g. 79.

² *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

³ See my article on ' *Ethics of the Jātakas* ', *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 271ff.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GUHILOTS

By ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE

I

The importance of the part played by the Rājputs during the medieval period of Indian history is a fact which deserves more recognition and attention than have hitherto been accorded to the subject. Smith pointed out the truth when he said that 'the centuries from the death of Harsha to the Muhammadan conquest of Hindostan, extending in round numbers from the middle of the seventh to the close of the twelfth century, might be called with propriety the Rājput Period'.¹ 'They shed a glory on the history of this time which deserves as great a record in the history of the world as the glory of the most heroic peoples in that history'.² During the entire period of Muhammadan rule in India, the Rājputs exercised a predominant influence on the course of events and emerged as the deciding factor in many a crisis. There are numerous broad and undisputed historical facts which clearly indicate the emphasis that must be laid on the study of the history of this brave and chivalrous people.

There is, again, another very important consideration which cannot be neglected without running the risk of forming an untrue conception of the course of Indian history. The works of the Muhammadan historians have been so long accepted as the only source of our knowledge regarding the history of the period during which their co-religionists exercised the supreme political power in the country. Though many of their errors have been corrected and their misrepresentations to some extent rejected, yet it is impossible to escape wholly from their spirit of prejudice. As a result, the history of India during the so-called Muhammadan Period has been now reconstructed absolutely from the Muhammadan point of view, and we have lost sight of the Hindu interpretation of events and personalities and neglected to enquire into the condition of the people who constituted the vast majority of the inhabitants of the country. It is high time that this wrong outlook on history should be corrected, and the study of the history of the Rājputs, who were the only Hindu people enjoying political power during the

¹ Oxford History of India, 1923, p. 172.

² C. V. Vaidya, History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vol. II, 1924, p. 4.

entire period of Muhammadan supremacy in India, can provide us with the true perspective of the history of those seven hundred years.

It must be confessed, however, that the present state of research on the history of the Rājputs is altogether unsatisfactory and is a clear testimony to the fact that we have not yet been able to shake off the absolutely wrong impression that this subject is only of local interest and has no important bearing upon the general history of the country. Some scholars have occasionally dealt with certain topics related to the subject, and some efforts have been made to join together disconnected facts which have been discovered. But unfortunately no noteworthy attempt has yet been made (except that of Pandit G. H. Ojha) to reconstruct the history of the Rājputs. Tod's work, which serves very little historical purpose, is still the only source from which information may be culled.

Of all the Rājput clans the Guhilots of Mewar deserve the best attention of the historian. Tod very rightly observes³ that 'the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the prince of Mewar' as 'the first of the thirty-six royal tribes', and that it is almost the only state which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination and in the very lands where it was founded in the eighth century. The glory of the Guhilots also consists in the long-continued and resolute resistance which they offered to the Muhammadans in spite of numerous great reverses. 'In fact the heroism of this family and its sustained tenacious effort for the preservation of its independence and its religion are as stable as their fortune and dominion'.⁴

The reconstruction of the history of the Guhilots is, therefore, an unquestionable necessity, and much remains to be done in this sphere. The purpose of the present paper is to collect the necessary data, to discuss the more important views which have been so far advanced by various scholars, and to make an attempt of preparing a coherent narrative of the early political history of the Guhilots. It is proposed here to deal with the period from the earliest times down to the close of the tenth century—the period of confusion and darkness, as a tolerably certain chronological survey of the political history of the later period may be found in Tod's work.

It is almost needless to mention that the greatest difficulty which confronts a student of this period of the history of the Guhilots is the paucity of materials. He finds few stones to lean upon and is bewildered when he goes through the endless series of speculations indulged in by various scholars. He can gather very little from

³ Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, G. Routledge & Sons, Vol. I, p. 173.

⁴ Vaidya, Vol. I, p. 70-71.

Muhammadan sources which are so valuable for the succeeding period. He is even denied the help of Rājput chronicles to any considerable degree, because the chronicles composed in a later period which were used by Tod have been found to be absolutely unreliable. Very few indigenous records of real historical value have yet been discovered. But, fortunately, the discovery of some inscriptions has thrown a flood of light on this subject, and with their help it is now possible to arrive at certain definite conclusions. But until fresh materials are discovered a very large portion of the narrative must remain open to question and necessarily, therefore, no dogmatic assertion can be made.

II

According to Tod,⁵ who followed the traditional account recorded in local chronicles, Kanak Sen, a descendant of Rama,⁶ 'found his way into Saurashtra from Loh-kote' and established the kingdom of Valabhi in A.D. 144. In Kathiawar his descendants ruled for centuries, until the territory was sacked by invaders described as barbarians from the north (or Scythic), and the last chief, Śilāditya, was killed in 524 A.D. His son, Goha, established himself at Eḍur, where his successors 'who were styled Gohilote, classically Grahilote, in time softened to Gehlote', continued to rule. Bappā was the son of Nagadit, the eighth prince of the line, who was killed by the Bhils.⁶

From the very nature of the sources on which Tod relied we are led to be very suspicious about the truth of his account, particularly with reference to his genealogy and chronology. It is apparent that the bardic chronicles composed at a much later date, when the truth about the early days was clouded by mystery and tradition, should give us mere fragmentary legends concerning this period.

In the first place, it has been established that the Maitraka princes of Valabhi were in no way connected with the legendary solar race to which Rāma belonged. On the other hand, they can hardly be accepted as of Indian origin, and it has been very plausibly suggested by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar that they were a foreign tribe allied with, if not a branch of, the Hūnas.⁷

Secondly, Kanak Sen is an 'entirely mythical'⁸ hero. It has been successfully proved that Bhaṭāraka was the founder of

⁵ Tod, Vol. I, pp. 176-81.

⁶ Cf. K. D. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, Vol. IIA, 1908, pp. 13-14.

⁷ Paper on 'the Guhilots', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1909. Cf. N. Ray, 'The Maitrakas of Valabhi', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, p. 457.

⁸ Crooke, *Tod's Rajasthan*, Vol. I, *Annals of Mewar*, Chap. I, note.

the Maitraka ruling family.⁹ In the genealogical list of the princes of Valabhī which has been prepared in accordance with epigraphic evidence, there is no mention of Kanak Sen, nor has he been identified with any other name in that list.¹⁰

Thirdly, the dates of the establishment and destruction of the kingdom of Valabhī given by Tod must be rejected. Epigraphic evidence clearly shows that Bhatāraka must have flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.¹¹ Bühler remarks, 'The destruction of Valabhī is an event around which there hangs more than one mystery and the question when it happened is one of the most difficult to decide'.¹² It has been ascertained, however, from epigraphic evidence that Śīlāditya VII, the last king of the dynasty, was alive in Gupta era 447 or A.D. 776. So the destruction of the kingdom may very probably be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century. It may be mentioned in this connection that the dynasty was probably overthrown by an expedition of the Arabs from Sind.¹³

Whether Bappā belonged to the family of the Maitrakas of Valabhī is an important and controversial problem. Mr. C. V. Vaidya believes that 'the Guhila family of Nagada in which Bappā was born was...really connected with the Maitraka family of Valabhī'.¹⁴ But unfortunately he gives us no reason for this belief, except the implication that local tradition appears to him as justified by historical parallels. At the same time, however, he seems to have a lurking suspicion that this connection may 'be looked upon as concocted by bards of the eighth and later centuries'.

'The traditional account given by Tod tracing the descent of the Rānā's family from Śīlāditya, the last prince of Valabhī, does not stand the test of modern epigraphic knowledge.'¹⁵ The truth of this statement will be revealed if we compare and co-ordinate the facts disclosed by certain inscriptions. As we have seen, Śīlāditya VII, the last prince of Valabhī, was alive in A.D. 776. On the other hand,

⁹ N. Ray, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, p. 460.

Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 332.

C. M. Duff, *Chronology of India*, pp. 36, 67.

¹⁰ 'It has been suggested that the name is a reminiscence of the connexion of . . . Kanishka with Gujrat and Kathiawad'.—*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 101. This suggestion seems to have no historical evidence in its support.

¹¹ N. Ray, Smith and Duff, as cited above.

¹² *Indian Antiquary*, 1872, Vol. I, p. 130.

¹³ Duff, p. 308. Cf. Crooke, *Tod's Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 254, note. N. Ray, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, pp. 466-7.

¹⁴ Vol. II, p. 338.

¹⁵ Bhandarkar, 'Guhilots', *J.A.S.B.*, 1909.

there is an inscription to show that Śīla, a king of the Guhiot dynasty, lived in V.S. 703 or A.D. 646. Mr. Vaidya admits this when he says that Śīla's inscription of the seventh century has been found.¹⁶ The Rānpur, Achalgadh, Chitorgadh and Ātapura inscriptions distinctly show that Śīla was five generations removed from Guhadatta, or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty. Guhadatta, therefore, must be carried to the middle of the sixth century, allowing roughly twenty years for each generation. Thus it was quite impossible for him to be descended from Śīlāditya VII.

It may be argued, however, that the Guhilot princes may have been descended from another Valabhī prince of an earlier date. Mr. Vaidya does not expressly say so; but it seems that he is somewhat inclined to favour such an idea when he speaks of the 'connection of Bappā's family with the royal family of Valabhī which was then ruling'.¹⁷ But there is no evidence to substantiate such an assumption, and we are not justified in pushing a legend so far.

Prof. Bhandarkar expresses the view that 'the Mewar and Valabhi dynasties were somehow connected'. He holds that the Guhilots were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas were Maitrakas; and therefore the Mewar and Valabhi dynasties belonged to the same foreign tribe.¹⁸ This theory will be noticed in detail later on. But it is clear that there is no evidence to prove that the Guhilot princes were descended from the Valabhī princes.

III

The next controversial question which demands our consideration is—Was Bappā a brāhmaṇa? The orthodox view of the Aryan origin of the Rājputs has been revived by Pandit G. H. Ojha and Mr. Vaidya. As they have employed historical arguments in support of their contention, we shall do well to examine them carefully.

As we have seen above, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar holds¹⁹ that the Guhilots were originally Nāgar brāhmaṇas. This theory, indeed, now holds the ground, and it may be said that the great majority of scholars have accepted it.²⁰ Some of his arguments,²¹ therefore, are reproduced below.

¹⁶ Vol. II, p. 78.

¹⁷ Vol. III, p. 338. As we shall notice later on, Mr. Vaidya identifies Bappā with Guhadatta, and thinks that Śīla, whose date is referred to above, must be an ancestor of Bappā (pp. 342, 78).

^{18, 19} Paper on the 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

²⁰ Crooke, Introduction, Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I.

²¹ 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

• In the first place, certain verses in the Achaleśvara stone inscription (V.S. 1342), Chitorgaḍh stone inscription (V.S. 1331) and the Māmādeva praśasti distinctly show that Bappā was a brāhmaṇa.

Secondly, the Chitorgaḍh inscription calls Bappā a brāhmaṇa who had come from Ānandapura. Now, 'the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar is based on irrefragable' grounds, because it is supported by the Vaḍnagar praśasti of the reign of Kumārapāla, the tradition current among Nāgar brāhmaṇas, the Alinā charters of A.D. 649 and 656, and many popular stories. Therefore, it is clearly shown that Bappā was a Nāgar brāhmaṇa.

Thirdly, the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha says that Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila race, was a brāhmaṇa belonging to a brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Ānandapura. The same work again tells us that Vijayāditya, the ancestor of Guhadatta, was the ornament of the Nāgara race. These facts lend further support to the above argument, and prove that the Guhilots were known as Nāgar brāhmaṇas in Rāṇā Kumbha's reign.

Fourthly, we gather from the Ekaliṅga-māhātmya, the Rasika-priyā (a commentary by Rāṇā Kumbha on Jayadeva's Gīta-Govinda-kāvya) and a famous stanza often recited by the brāhmaṇas of Mewar that the gōtra of the Guhilots was Vaijavāpa. Now, 'that Vaijavāpa was one of the gōtras amongst the Nāgaras as early as the thirteenth century can be proved by epigraphic evidence' including the praśastis of Nānāka found at Koḍināra in the Amreli division of the Baroda State. 'There can be no reasonable doubt that Vaijavāpas are meant to be Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.'

Fifthly, the history of the tradition of the brāhmaṇa origin of the Rāṇās' family is interesting. We have the Achaleśvara inscription of V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285) and the Chitorgaḍh inscription dated V.S. 1331 (A.D. 1274). The Ekaliṅga-māhātmya says that this tradition comes from 'the ancient poets' and thereby implies that it must have been current long before Rāṇā Kumbha. Then there are the Ātapura inscription of V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977) and the Chātsū inscription of nearly the same period. Again, 'this origin was not forgotten by the people even to a late period'.²² The *Khyāt* of Mūtā Neṇsi refers to this tradition and shows that as late as the middle of the seventeenth century it was alive in the memory of the people. A work called *Tawārikh Mālwa*, composed by Munsī

²² Abul Fazl also refers to this tradition. (Ain-i-Akbari, English translation, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 269.) This point has not been noticed by Prof. Bhandarkar.

Karim-ud-din in the middle of the nineteenth century, refers to this tradition.

It might seem that this is an invincible array of arguments, which solve the problem once for all. But a very wide difference of opinion with regard to the question has expressed itself. The theory of the Aryan descent of the Rājputs appears to know no death.

Pandit G. H. Ojha is of opinion that Bappā was a Kshatriya and not a brāhmaṇa, and that he was a solar race Kshatriya.²³ He relies, in the first place, on the disc of the sun found on the obverse of a golden coin which he ascribes to Bappā. Secondly, the expression 'Raghuvamśa-kīrtipīṣunāḥ' in the Naravāhana inscription of V.S. 1028 is, according to him, a decisive proof that the Guhilots belonged to the solar race.

These arguments, however, are not conclusive. With regard to the first point, Mr. S. C. Dutt has shown that it is very difficult to accept that particular coin as a genuine one issued by Bappā.²⁴ Even if we agree with Pandit Ojha in ascribing the coin to Bappā, it is clear that a mere disc of the sun found in only one coin cannot be accepted as a decisive proof in favour of the solar descent of the Guhilots. The second point, however, is more important. We must agree with Mr. Vaidya²⁵ that 'Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar²⁶ has . . . omitted to take into consideration the word Raghuvamśa'. We may even accept his interpretation of the Naravāhana inscription and hold with him that 'as early as the Naravāhana inscription . . . the (Guhila) vamśa was . . . known as Raghuvamśa'. But this only shows that in the later part of the tenth century A.D. the Guhilots had begun to advance the claim that they were Kshatriyas of the solar race. Against this we know the fact that the tradition of their brāhmaṇa origin was current during the whole period from 977 A.D. to the middle of the nineteenth century. Pandit Ojha has not been able to disprove the authenticity of the verses relating to this tradition in the Achaleśvara and Chitorgaḍh inscriptions and in the Ekaṅga-māhātmya. It is, therefore, impossible to prefer the Naravāhana inscription to all other epigraphic, literary and traditional accounts.

Mr. Vaidya has tried to vanquish Prof. Bhandarkar's arguments with great skill and knowledge. He is a champion of the solar kshatriya origin of the Guhilots. It is necessary to examine his points in detail.

²³ Cf. Vaidya, Vol. II, pp. 332-3.

²⁴ Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

²⁵ Vol. II, p. 333.

²⁶ Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

First, he holds that the Chitor and Abu inscriptions must be rejected on the strength of the earlier Naravāhana inscription and the gold coin attributed to Bappā.

Secondly, he does not accept Prof. Bhandarkar's interpretation of the Chātsū inscription. There he finds no implication to the effect that Bhatripatta (a Guhilot prince) was a brāhmaṇa.

Thirdly, during that period brāhmaṇas could marry Kshatriya wives and their progeny was in that case treated as a Kshatriya. So even if Bappā was a brāhmaṇa, that could not make the whole Guhilot family a brāhmaṇa family.

Fourthly, he thinks that Ānandapura in the Ātapura inscription means the town of Nāgahrada and not Vaḍnagar. So a brāhmaṇa coming from Ānandapura need not have been a Nāgar brāhmaṇa. The word 'Mahideva' in the same inscription means a king and not, as Prof. Bhāndarkar says, a brāhmaṇa.²⁷

Fifthly, 'there is no contemporary evidence to show that Bappā Rāwal was a Nāgar Brahmin'.²⁸

It is not very difficult to meet these arguments. With regard to the first point, we have already seen that the Naravāhana inscription does not deserve so much importance as Pandit Ojha and Mr. Vaidya attach to it. The value of the gold coin has also been examined. Secondly, it is true that if we take the Chātsū inscription as an isolated record, we do not find in it any distinct statement regarding the brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilots. But we have seen that there are other inscriptions which explicitly mention them as brāhmaṇas, and it is clear that indirect references in the Chātsū inscription should be interpreted in conformity with those statements. Mr. Vaidya's third argument is a novel and interesting one. He has not given us any conclusive evidence to show that the issue of a brāhmaṇa father and a kshatriya mother was regarded as a kshatriya. But, even if we concede this point, he does not point out definitely how this principle worked with regard to the Guhilot dynasty. Mr. Vaidya's contention harmonizes the two traditions which existed side by side—one about the brāhmaṇa origin and another about the kshatriya origin; but it is entirely based on supposition. Moreover, if Mr. Vaidya admits that Bappā was a brāhmaṇa, he is led to admit the foreign origin of the Guhilots, because, as we shall see, his arguments that Bappā was not a Nāgar brāhmaṇa and that Nāgar brāhmaṇas were not foreigners do not stand. Fourthly, the evidences which Prof. Bhandarkar has adduced to justify the identification of Ānandapura with Vaḍnagar are decisive. Even Pandit Ojha agrees

²⁷ All these points are elaborated in Vol. II, pp. 332-7.

²⁸ Vol. II, p. 84.

with him and holds that Ānandapura brāhmaṇa means Nāgar brāhmaṇa. The real meaning of the word 'Mahīdeva' (that is, brāhmaṇa) is clear from this. Lastly, it is true that 'there is no contemporary evidence to show that Bappā Rāwal was a Nāgar Brahmin'. But it is also true that there is no contemporary evidence to show that he was *not* a Nāgar brāhmaṇa. When we have only later evidences at our disposal, we must accept the preponderance of views among them. It will be seen that Mr. Vaidya has nothing to say about Prof. Bhandarkar's point about the gōtra of the Guhilots.

From all these considerations we are led to the conclusion that the Guhilots were originally Nāgar brāhmaṇas. It is necessary now to see whether they were really foreigners, that is, whether Prof. Bhandarkar's opinion that 'the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas were Maitrakas who . . . were a foreign race'²⁹ is correct. Mr. Vaidya says that 'nobody will agree with Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in holding that Mitra is another name of Mihara and, therefore, of Mer, the well-known outcast people of Kathiawar'.³⁰ He considers it unnecessary 'to write a note on this subject refuting the flimsy arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar and show that Nāgars are not Mers'. It is true that Dr. Bhandarkar's arguments about this point are not very strong. But his suggestions are plausible, and considering the circumstantial facts and the cumulative effect of other evidences, we may tentatively adhere to his conclusion.

We may refer in passing to Tod's view about the 'alleged Persian extraction of the Rānās of Mewar'.³¹ Abul Fazl, the only authority who mentions this point, says that the Rana 'pretends a descent from Noshirwān the Just'.³² Tod deems 'it morally impossible that the Ranas should have their lineage from any male branch of the Persian house', but he 'would not equally assert' that the Rānās may not have been descended from a female branch of the Sassanians. Crooke says, 'There is no real evidence of the Persian descent of the Rānās'.³³

IV

We are now concerned with the problem of chronology. The dates of Bappā's birth, accession and abdication must now be considered.

²⁹ 'Guhilots', J.A.S.B., 1909.

³⁰ Vol. II, p. 84.

³¹ Tod, Vol. I, Annals of Mewar, Chap. III.

³² Ain-i-Akbari, English translation, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

³³ Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 278, note.

According to Tod,⁸⁴ Bappā was born in V.S. 769 (A.D. 713), he occupied Chitor in V.S. 784 (A.D. 728) and abdicated in V.S. 820 (A.D. 764). The domestic annals give the year 191 as the date of Bappā's birth; and relying on certain Jain annals Tod has concluded that this date is counted from the year of the sack of Valabhī. Bappā is said to have been 15 years of age when he ascended the throne of Chitor; so his accession must be placed in 728 A.D. We have epigraphic evidence to show that the Mori dynasty was reigning in Chitor in V.S. 770 (A.D. 714). Tradition gives V.S. 820 (A.D. 764) as the date of Bappā's abdication.

It is superfluous to add that we must be very cautious about this account. The unreliability of the sources of Tod's information raises a suspicion about the historical value of his dates. It is absurd that Bappā ascended the throne of Chitor at the tender age of 15, for we know that his accession was an usurpation and most probably had violence at its back. We must, therefore, turn to other available pieces of evidence.

Pandit G. H. Ojha is of opinion that Bappā abdicated in 753. The learned scholar infers that he could not have ascended the throne of Chitor earlier than 713, the date of the inscription of Rājā Mān, the Mori prince of Chitor. So Bappā's life may be held to have extended roughly over the first half of the eighth century. Pandit Ojha places his birth about 712 and his accession about 734.

This view has been criticized by Mr. Vaidya.⁸⁵ He tries to refute Pandit Ojha's arguments by various details, and finally takes shelter of the excuse that the dates given by him do not fit in with the tradition that Bappā ruled long and abdicated at old age.

We may now refer to Mr. Vaidya's own views. He holds that the traditional date of Bappā's abdication (V.S. 820 = A.D. 763) seems compatible with Rājā Mān Mori's inscription dated in V.S. 770 (A.D. 713). Bappā's accession is, therefore, to be placed between A.D. 763 and A.D. 713. He thinks that the Arab incursion on the Mori kingdom must have taken place sometime before the date of the Navasāri inscription (738 A.D.). As Bappā fought as the general of the Mori prince during this event, his own accession to the throne of Chitor may be placed about 740 A.D. or even earlier, about 730 A.D. If Bappā was comparatively young at his accession, his birth may be placed about 700 A.D.

According to Dr. Bhandarkar,⁸⁶ two Ekaliṅga-māhātmyas com-

⁸⁴ Rajasthan, Vol. I, pp. 187-8.

⁸⁵ Vol. II, pp. 338-42, 75.

⁸⁶ 'Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra', Indian Antiquary, 1910.

posed during the reigns of Rānā Kumbha and his son Rānā Rāyamalla give V.S. 810 as Bappā's date and indicate that 'this' was the year of his bestowing the royalty on his son and becoming an ascetic'. The learned professor is of the opinion that this date (V.S. 810=A.D. 753) for Bappā 'deserves credence'.

It will be seen, therefore, that there is no substantial difference of opinion among these scholars about Bappā's dates. There is disagreement with regard to the dates of particular events; but it is agreed that Bappā's life may be taken to have roughly covered the first half of the eighth century A.D. This proposition must be taken as a tolerable background for the reconstruction of history. We may only expect that some epigraphic or numismatic evidence will be discovered in future and will set at rest all uncertain controversies and vague speculations.

V

We now come to discuss the all-important question of Bappā's place in the genealogy of the Guhilots.

The word Bappā requires an explanation. It is clear that it is not a proper name, though Mr. Vaidya takes it to be so.³⁷ Tod remarks, 'Bappa is not a proper name, it signifies merely a "child"'.³⁸ Crooke suggests that the word is the old Prākṛit form of 'bāp' and means 'father'.³⁹ Mr. Vaidya himself admits that the word 'originally means father'.⁴⁰ Pandit G. H. Ojha also thinks that the term and its variations originally signified 'father' and were later on used in a sense of reverence.⁴¹

The title 'Rāwal' is generally associated with Bappā. There is a considerable element of difficulty and uncertainty with regard to the true sense of this term. Dr. Bhandarkar suggests that 'Rāwal' means an ascetic of a particular sect and Bappā is so called because he belonged to that sect.⁴² Mr. Vaidya accepts his proposition that 'Bappā sometimes means a Bāvā or recluse', but holds that 'Rāwal' means a small Rāo or prince.⁴³ Crooke suggests that 'Rāwal' comes from the Sanskrit word 'rājakula' which means royal family

³⁷ Vol. II, p. 76.

³⁸ Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 182, note.

³⁹ Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 261, note.

⁴⁰ Vol. II, p. 76.

⁴¹ Cf. Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

⁴² Indian Antiquary, 1910 (Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra).

⁴³ Vol. II, pp. 72, 76.

—a rather ingenious explanation.⁴⁴ Now, it is a fact that the earlier kings of Chitor were known as Rāwals and the later kings from Hāmīr were called Rāṇās. The Rāyāsāgar inscription implies this by stating that there were 26 Rāwals in all from Bappā. Abul Fazl also remarks, 'The chief of the state was formerly called Rāwal, but for a long time past has been known as Rāṇā'.⁴⁵ Tod says that Rahup, a Guhilot prince of the early thirteenth century, defeated the 'Purihar prince of Mundore' who was called Rāṇā, and himself assumed that title.⁴⁶ But, as we shall see, the Mewar family was divided into two branches in the end of the twelfth century; the one with the title of Rāwal ruled at Chitor and the other with the title of Rāṇā ruled at Sesoda. After 'Alā-ud-dīn's capture of Chitor the younger branch, the Rāṇās, became the head of the Guhilot clan. Mr. Vaidya remarks, 'The later kings were called Rāṇās as they came from a minor branch, Rāṇā meaning a subordinate king as in Himalayan states. But the name Rāṇā, being taken by the illustrious kings of Udepur, now bears a higher meaning in Rajputana.'⁴⁷

Let us now turn to the question of Bappā's place in the genealogy of the Guhilots. We have seen that Bappā is not a proper name; it is only a title of honour. As Dr. Bhandarkar points out, 'Bappa does not appear to be the name of a merely legendary or a later prince'.⁴⁸ With what early prince is he to be identified?

It is necessary to mention at the outset that we have four very important inscriptions giving the early genealogy of the Guhilot princes. These are—the Āṭapura inscription (V.S. 1034=A.D. 977), the Chitorgaḍh inscription (V.S. 1331=A.D. 1274), the Achalgaḍh inscription (V.S. 1342=A.D. 1285) and the Rānpur inscription (V.S. 1496=A.D. 1439). Of these, the Āṭapura inscription of 977 A.D. (of a Guhilot prince named Śaktikumāra) is the earliest and the completest record. It is, therefore, the most authoritative and useful source for our purpose. The genealogy of the Guhilots as given in these inscriptions is reproduced here.

⁴⁴ Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 249, note.

⁴⁵ Ain-i-Akbari, English Translation by Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

⁴⁶ Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 211.

⁴⁷ Vol. III, p. 155, note.

⁴⁸ 'The Atpur Inscription of Śaktikumāra', Indian Antiquary, 1910.

	Āṭapura list	Chitorgaḍh list	Achalgaḍh list	Rānpur list
		Bappā ..	Bappā ..	Bappa.
(1)	Guhadatta ..	Guhila ..	Guhila ..	Guhila.
(2)	Bhoja ..	Bhoja ..	Bhoja ..	Bhoja.
(3)	Mahendra (I) ..	....	....	....
(4)	Naga ..	....	....	....
(5)	Śīla ..	Śīla ..	Śīla ..	Śīla.
(6)	Aparājita ..	....	....	....
(7)	Mahendra (II) ..	....	....	....
(8)	Kālabhoja ..	Kālabhoja ..	Kālabhoja ..	Kālabhoja
(9)	Khommāna (I) ..	....	....	....
(10)	Mattaṭa ..	Mattaṭa ..	....	....
(11)	Bhartripatta (I) ..	Bhartribhata ..	Bhartribhaṭa ..	Bhartribhaṭa.
(12)	Siṃha ..	Siṃha ..	Siṃha ..	Siṃha.
(13)	Khommāna (II) ..	....	....	....
(14)	Mahāyaka ..	Mahāyaka ..	Mahāyika ..	Mahāyaka.
(15)	Khommāna (III) ..	Khummāna ..	Khummāna ..	Khummāna.
(16)	Bhartripatta (II) ..	....	....	....
(17)	Allaṭa ..	Allaṭa ..	Allaṭa ..	Allaṭa.
(18)	Naravāhana ..	Naravāhana ..	Naravāhana ..	Naravāhana.
(19)	Śālivāhana ..	....	....	....
(20)	Śaktikumāra ..	Śaktikumāra ..	Śaktikumāra ..	Śaktikumāra.

We have already seen that Bappā's life covered the first half of the eighth century A.D. Now, we have a few dates from epigraphic evidence—Śīla, V.S. 703 (A.D. 646); Aparājita, V.S. 718 (A.D. 661); Allaṭa, V.S. 1008 and 1010 (A.D. 951, 953); Naravāhana, V.S. 1028 (A.D. 971); and Śaktikumāra, V.S. 1034 (A.D. 977). These are the data on which our attempt at identifying Bappā with any of the princes named in the Āṭapura list must be based.

Dr. Bhandarkar identifies Bappā with Khommāna I and his argument⁴⁹ may be thus summed up: The date for Aparājita being 661 A.D. and for Allaṭa 953 A.D., we have 292 years for 12 generations. Thus we get an average of $24\frac{1}{3}$ years to each generation. The difference between 753 A.D., the date of Bappā, and 661 A.D., the date of Aparājita, is 92 years. Bappā has, therefore to be placed in the fourth generation from Aparājita. So he must be identified with Khommāna I.

Pandit G. H. Ojha identifies Bappā with Kālabhoja. He objects to Dr. Bhandarkar's view principally on two grounds: first, traditions in Mewar describe Khommāna as Bappā's son; secondly, Dr. Bhandarkar's average of 24 years for each reign is questionable.

⁴⁹ Indian Antiquary, 1910.

Prof. S. Dutt,⁵⁰ however, points out the futility of these arguments. He shows that there are conflicting traditions, some even identifying Bappā with Śīla. He also says that Dr. Bhandarkar's calculation of 24 years as an average is based upon an accurate examination of the period. Prof. Dutt further gives three good reasons in support of Dr. Bhandarkar's view. In the first place, Bappā having acquired celebrity by his conquest of Chitor, it was natural that later rulers should feel pride in describing themselves as his descendants. Secondly, inscriptions of the fifteenth century (like the Rānpur inscription of 1439 A.D.) describe the Rānās as the descendants of Bappā, but in earlier inscriptions (like the Hastikundi inscription of 996 A.D. and the Abu inscription of 1285 A.D.) the rulers of Mewar often describe themselves as descendants of Khommāna. Thirdly, of the first twenty princes of the dynasty as many as three bore the name of Khommāna, and a big historical poem dealing with the exploits of the Guhilots is known as 'Khommanā Rāsā'. The cumulative effect of all these evidences is to prove that Bappā is really to be identified with Khommāna I.

It remains to dispose of the contention of Mr. Vaidya that Bappā is to be identified with Guhadatta, the first name mentioned in the Āṭapura inscription.⁵¹ This view, indeed, is quite absurd on the face of it, and we would be glad if Mr. Vaidya's zeal for supporting orthodox tradition had not led him to ignore all epigraphic, literary and circumstantial evidences. We know that Śīla and Aparājita, the fifth and sixth descendants of Guhadatta, lived in 646 A.D. and 661 A.D. respectively. The date of Guhadatta must, therefore, lie in the earlier part of the sixth century. How, then, can he be identified with Bappā who, according to Mr. Vaidya himself, was born about 700 A.D.? The learned author tries to explain this difficulty by saying that 'the two kings Śīla and Aparājita whose inscriptions of the seventh century have been found must be considered to be Bappā's ancestors', and that these names recurring in the Āṭpur new copy are 'descendants having the same names'. This assertion, with no evidence to support it, will convince nobody. Again, if Bappā is identified with Guhadatta, we have twenty generations from him to Śaktikumāra. Then we get 277 years for 20 generations, because Bappā, says Mr. Vaidya, was born about 700 A.D. and the date of the Āṭapura inscription of Śaktikumāra is 977 A.D. This gives us an average of about 14 years for each generation—an absurd estimate. Mr. Vaidya has tried to solve this difficulty by saying that 'it may be that this line of kings had a specially short average or it

⁵⁰ Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 797.

⁵¹ Vol. II, pp. 78, 86, 342-8.

may be that the Ātapura inscription repeats some kings wrongly or brings together kings of different branches who were contemporaries'. But here he clearly transgresses the limits of possibility and without adducing any concrete example doubts the statements of the Ātapura inscription the authenticity of which has been confirmed by all the inscriptions hitherto discovered. Mr. Vaidya makes much of 'tradition'; but what does 'tradition' really mean? Pandit Ojha admits that there are many conflicting traditions, some identifying Bappā with Śīla and some with Kālabhoja for example. This clearly shows that traditions cannot be cited as historical evidence in deciding this point. Mr. Vaidya remarks that if Bappā is not identified with Guhadatta, 'the memorable exploit of Bappā in founding an independent kingdom of Chitor goes not to the founder of the family but to a descendant many degrees below!!!' His meaning is not quite clear. The supporters of the identification of Bappā with Khommāna I believe that 'the memorable exploit of Bappā in founding an independent kingdom of Chitor' does go to Bappā and not 'to a descendant many degrees below'. According to them, the ancestors of Bappā, that is, Khommāna I, from Guhadatta down to Kālabhoja were not princes of Chitor. The tradition that Bappā was the founder of the family really means that he established the family in Chitor, not that he was the very first man in the family. He is the founder of the family in the same sense as Śivajī was the founder of his family. In a word, he was the founder of the greatness of the family. This is the most natural interpretation of the epithet 'Guhilagōtranarendrachandra' in the Naravāhana inscription of 971 A.D. This explanation is supported by the fact that, as we have seen, in earlier inscriptions the princes of Mewar describe themselves as descendants of Khommāna. Mr. Vaidya's view, therefore, is entirely based on misconceptions.

VI

We have already given the genealogy of the Guhilot princes from the earliest times to almost the close of the tenth century A.D. We now proceed, therefore, to discuss the available data in order to reconstruct an outline of their history during this period.

From the difficulty in collecting the genealogy and chronology of this dynasty which we have experienced, it must have become apparent that the enumeration of events and achievements must be more difficult still. Indeed, there is only one central event of importance—the contest with the Muhammadans of Sind. Mr. Vaidya well observes, '... the kings of this line, however diverse their fortune, were, each and all, chivalrous and virtuous, lovers of

independence and supporters of their . . . faith. Indeed we may say that the sublime character of the hero-god Rama, as a man and a king whom they look upon as their progenitor, still exercises its influence over the princes of this line . . . In fact . . . the Guhilots kings of Chitore fought hard-fought battles with foreigners, so much so that the whole country was strewn with flesh and the meda (fat) of the evil warriors slain and thus acquired the name Medapāta (undoubtedly a poetic fancy suggested by the name Medapāta, Prakṛita Mewad, but yet proving the terrible battles which the heroic Rājputs and the equally heroic Arabs fought on this soil).⁵² Tod gives an account of this long-continued and fierce struggle,⁵³ but the paucity of materials prevents us from examining the historical value of his statements. Every one of Bappā's ancestors—Guhadatta, Bhoja, Mahendra I, Nāga, Śīla, Aparājita, Mahendra II and Kālabhoja—is described in inscriptions as having fought many times against the mlechchhas. Bappā himself is regarded by Mr. Vaidya as 'the Charles Martel of India against the rock of whose valour the eastern tide of Arab conquest was dashed to pieces in India'.⁵⁴ Bappā's successors down to Rāṇā Rājasimha of the later seventeenth century were all stern fighters against the enemies of their faith. Indeed, the struggle with the Muhammadans is the central theme in the history of the Guhilots.

Tod has recounted some of the strange legends which have gathered round the life and history of Bappā Rāwal.⁵⁵ It is natural that ancient literature and tradition should give us wonderful anecdotes about the achievements of this great hero who is, according to all available versions, the founder of the 'regal splendour' and greatness of the Guhilots dynasty. But, as Hume remarks, 'poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions and use strange liberties with truth when they are the sole historians, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggeration'.

We hear that Bappā 'had his capital at Nāgadā, about twelve miles to the north of the present city of Udaipur . . . he ousted Mān Sing (of the Mori or Maurya clan of Rājputs ruling at Chitore) in 734 and ruled in his stead taking the title of Rāwal. Bāpā was the real founder of the state, for while his predecessors enjoyed limited possession in the wild region bordering on the Arāvallis in the west and south-west, he extended his possessions to the east by

⁵² Vol. II, pp. 77, 79.

⁵³ Rajasthan, Annals of Mewar, Chap. IV.

⁵⁴ Vol. II, p. 72.

⁵⁵ Rajasthan, Vol. I, Annals of Mewar, Chs. II, IV.

seizing Chitor and the neighbouring territory'.⁵⁶ This is the minimum uncontroversial estimate of Bappā Rāwal's achievements.

We may well believe that Bappā's predecessors were small local princes. In his youth he was a 'prince among Bhils with whom he freely associated and whom he disciplined and engaged in service for his own preferment'. The Navasāri Chaulukya grant⁵⁷ (739-40 A.D.) tells us that the Arabs had attacked the Maurya, who may be identified with the Mori king of Chitor. An inscription of Mān, a Mori prince of Chitor, is dated in 713 A.D. There is reason to believe that the Arab invasion referred to in the above grant took place in his reign. We may accept Mr. Vaidya's suggestion that Bappā was probably a Sāmanta of that king.⁵⁸ At any rate, it appears practically certain that Bappā was the leader of the Mori forces opposed to the Arabs and distinguished himself by a great victory. This exploit must have given him a great position in the court of the Mori king. Abul Fazl remarks that 'his daring was so conspicuous that he became in favour with the Rājā and a trusted minister of state'.⁵⁹

The next step was Bappā's accession to the throne of Chitor. How he occupied Chitor is almost an insoluble problem. According to Tod, the revolted sardars of Chitor deposed the Mori king and placed the crown on Bappā's head.⁶⁰ Mr. Vaidya does not believe in this tradition. He thinks that the then Mori king died childless and Bappā became the king of Chitor.⁶¹ Abul Fazl's version is this: 'On the death of the Rājā, his four nephews disputed the succession, but they eventually decided to resign their pretensions in favour of Bāpa and to acknowledge his authority. Bāpa, however, declined their offer. It happened one day that the finger of one of these four brothers began to bleed, and he drew with the blood the ceremonial mark of installation on the forehead of Bāpa and the others also concurred in accepting his elevation. He then assumed the sovereignty The ungrateful monarch put the four brothers to death.'⁶² It is not possible to come to any conclusion regarding the exact nature of the dynastic revolution.

Bappā 'had a numerous progeny' and died at a very ripe old age. Nothing else is definitely known about his political life.

⁵⁶ Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, 1908, Vol. 2A, p. 14.

⁵⁷ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 465.

⁵⁸ Vol. II, p. 73.

⁵⁹ *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, p. 268.

⁶⁰ *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 185-6.

⁶¹ Vol. II, pp. 73-4.

⁶² *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett, Vol. II, 1891, pp. 268-9.

• 'The close of Bappa's career', says Tod, 'is the strangest part of the legend Advanced in years, he abandoned his children and his country, carried his arms west to Khorassan, and there established himself, and married new wives from among the "barbarians", by whom he had a numerous offspring.'⁶³ It is impossible to accept this story. Crooke says, '... the whole story is a mere legend, a tale like that of the mysterious disappearance of Romulus and other kings'.⁶⁴ 'It has been suggested that his legend is mixed up with that of Bappa or Śaila of Valabhī, the story of his retreat to Irān representing the latter being carried as a captive to Mansūra on the fall of Valabhī'⁶⁵ Tradition records that in his old age Bappā abdicated in favour of his son and became a Śaivite recluse. The Ekaliṅga inscription of 971 A.D. supports the latter statement.⁶⁶

It is very probable that the Guhilots were vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D.⁶⁷ Dr. R. C. Majumdar points out that a Guhilot prince named Harsharāja was a vassal of Bhoja, the great Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor, and fought many times on his behalf.⁶⁸ We do not, however, find this name in any of the inscriptions which give genealogical information. But as Bhoja's reign extended from about 840 to 890 A.D.,⁶⁹ we may suppose that either Mahāyaka or Khommāna III might have been the Guhilot prince here referred to, although there is no positive evidence to support this assumption. The Nilgunda inscription of Amoghavarsha I (866 A.D.)⁷⁰ states that the Rāstrakūta monarch conquered the hill fort of Chitrakūta, which has been identified with Chitor by Mr. Vaidya and Dr. H. C. Ray (though Mr. R. D. Banerjee identified it with the ancient Chitrakūta referred to in the Rāmāyana). It was Bhartripatta II who probably shook off the allegiance of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. The Ātapura inscription describes him as 'the ornament of the three worlds' and says that he married a princess named Mahālakshmi of the Rāstrakūta dynasty.⁷¹ It is possible that this matrimonial alliance indicated the reconciliation of the former vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāras with their hereditary

⁶³ Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 186.

⁶⁴ Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. I, p. 268, note.

⁶⁵ Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 94, note 2.

⁶⁶ D. R. Bhandarkar, Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII.

⁶⁷ Prof. S. Dutt, Indian Historical Quarterly, 1928, p. 798.

⁶⁸ Gurjara-Pratihāras.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, and Smith, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

⁷⁰ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VI, p. 100.

⁷¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III, pp. 30ff.

enemies, the Rāstrakūṭas. From this time onwards the history of the Guhilots is closely connected with other Rājput princes. Munja-rāja, the Paramāra king of Malwa (973-97 A.D.), is believed to have attacked Mewar and ruled it for a time.⁷² The Guhilots were assisted by the Chaulukyas of Gujarat, and epigraphic evidence shows that matrimonial alliances were concluded between these two dynasties.⁷³ The Āṭapura inscription says that Aliata married Hariyadevī, daughter of a Hūṇa prince. From the same source we learn that Naravāhana's queen was of the Chāhamāna family and a daughter of Jejaya. The Chitorgadh inscription tells us that Śaktikumāra destroyed the enemies of religion, terrible like daityas. This, as Mr. Vaidya suggests,⁷⁴ is a plain reference to the Muhammadans. Śaktikumāra's known date is 977 A.D., the date of the Āṭapura inscription. It is quite possible, therefore, that he might have joined Jayapāl, king of Lahore, against Sabuktigin about 989 A.D.

These facts clearly indicate that the Guhilots were no longer small local princes in the hilly regions of Rājputānā. They had risen in power and prestige and had begun to play a part in the international politics of their age.⁷⁵

⁷² S. Dutt, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1928, p. 798.

⁷³ Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, 1914.

⁷⁴ Vol. III, p. 154.

⁷⁵ The writer is specially indebted to Prof. S. C. Dutt of St. Paul's College and Calcutta University. This article was written in 1931 (when the writer was a Post-Graduate student) at Prof. Dutt's suggestion, and it was kindly revised by him. It must not be supposed that he agrees with all the conclusions advanced here.

DOMESTIC RITES AND RITUALS

By GIRIJA PRAŠANNA MAJUMDAR

Grhyāṇi is the term used in the Āśvalāyana *Grhyasūtra* to denote all domestic rites and rituals. *Grhyāṇi* is the same expression as *grhya karmāṇi* which is met with in the text of Gobhila. *Saṅkhyāyana* denotes the same set of domestic rites and rituals by the expression *pākayajña*, while *Pāraskara* speaks of them as *grhya-sthālī-pākānam karma*. Each of these four terms has been used to denote the subjects treated of in a number of *Grhya Sūtras* forming one of the three important divisions of the ancient *Sūtra* literature of the Brahmins. In the opinion of Oldenberg the term *Pākayajña* or *Grhya-sthālī-pāka* is rather too narrow, since 'it does not include the offerings of sacrificial butter which constituted a great number of ceremonies'.¹

The Domestic Rites and Rituals, as prescribed and codified in the *Grhyasūtras* are popularly known among the Hindus as *karmas* and *saṁskāras*. As *karmas* they are cherished as programmes of duty to be observed by all good householders.

The question arises: Why are these rites and rituals called *saṁskāras*? A satisfactory answer to this question is furnished in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VI, 5, 1). The *Brāhmaṇa* offers the following definition of *saṁskāras*: *Chandomayam vā etair yajamāna ātmānam saṁskurute*. By these the devotee so fashions himself as to render it *chandomaya* or rythmical. Self-building (*ātmasaṁskritih*)² is indeed the ulterior object of the *saṁskāras*. Accordingly the *saṁskāras* are to be regarded as creations of art (*śilpa*). Art in the human sense is to be understood as meaning 'an imitation of a creation of Art Divine (i.e. of Nature). The figures of elephant, the figurations in brass, drapery and gold, and the mule-yoked chariots (made by human hand) are (examples of) Art Human.'³ According to the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III, 2, 1, 5): *Yad vai prati-rūpam tac chilpam*: 'Whatever is facsimile is Art'.

Going by this definition we are to understand that the *saṁskāra* is a work of Art Human produced in imitation (*anukritih*) of a

¹ S.B.E., Vol. 30, p. xxiii.

² Cf. संस्कारं विना देवि देहमधिर्न जायते ।

ना संस्तुतोऽधिकारी स्नातुं देवे पैत्रे च कर्मणि । महाविवाचनम्

³ Barua, *Indian Culture*, I, i, p. 119.

work of Art Divine (*devaśilpa*). By implication, the best work of art human is that which is produced in the best possible imitation of a work of Art Divine. The form of an art can be considered excellent, or super-excellent if it is intended to be a best possible copy of a living model supplied by Nature. The imitation, one may say, is ape. But the meaning of imitation (*anukritih*) as a criterion of a work of art in the Brāhmaṇas, may be far deeper than what appears at first sight. On this head we have the following comment from Dr. Barua: 'The point is concerned with the "fashioning of self" (*ātmasaṁskritih*), the art of self-building. The question is of bringing a son into the world in a full-fledged form which is nothing but an art of reproducing one's own self as a separate individual who will stand out as a perfect model of bodily form and mental constitution, endowed with harmony and intelligence the fashioning of semen (*retah*) as the seed of life is in the hands of creative power of the Divine Being working in and through Nature, while imparting of certain specific characters to it in its passage through the womb is possible on the part of the parents. The substance with potentialities or possible forms is given as a work of Art Divine, and the methodical realization of those possibilities is the achievement of human skill and intelligence. The text of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa would have us understand that a purely æsthetic factor (e.g. the chanting of select hymns) may prove of a great psychical effect in producing the required artistic mood. The definition implied is: Art consists in intelligent working up a desired form on a natural material, making manifest what is hidden or potential.'¹

The significance of the term *karma* is equally deep, if not deeper still and this may be realized from the text of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka in which the entire process of the cosmos, starting from the creative will of Prajāpati, the Lord of Beings, is said to reach its consummation in Brahma and Karma, both together denoting the final stage of evolution of the universe of life as a self-acting system, guided by supreme intelligence and endowed with harmony throughout.²

In one aspect the *grhyāṇi* or domestic saṁskāras are nothing but what are called *maṅgalas* in Buddhism. The *maṅgalas* as superstitious rites are repudiated in some of the Pali texts, as also in some of the edicts of Aśoka. King Aśoka in his ninth Rock Edict says: There are men who perform the auspicious rites of a

¹ *Indian Culture*, I, i, pp. 119-120; see also A History of Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy, p. 86; for the comprehensive meaning of the term 'imitation' see Coomaraswamy.

² Barua, Pre-Buddhist Philosophy, p. 63.

superior or inferior kind, at the time of illness, or at the time of the marriage of sons and daughters, or for the birth of sons or progeny, or at the time of setting out on a journey. On these and such other occasions the people perform the auspicious rites of various descriptions, especially, the women perform many and diverse auspicious rites of lesser or no importance.¹

In Pali the word *maṅgala* is used to mean victory or success in contradistinction to *parābhava*,² meaning defeat. The Maṅgala Sutta was worn on the person of a warrior, generally on the wrist of the hand, a sanctified piece of thread serving as a means of safety and protection.³ Thus another meaning of the word *maṅgala* is just safety or well-being (*soṭṭhi*, *svasti*). In the very opening stanza of the Pali Maṅgala Sutta which was promulgated almost verbatim by Aśoka in two of his Edicts (IX and XI)⁴ we are told that many gods and men thought out, in all ages, the subject of maṅgalas and yet could not come to any final decision about it. The matter was ultimately referred to the Buddha who in returning an answer to the question set out a programme of duty to be followed by a good householder.⁵ All that is set out in the Maṅgala Sutta is nothing but a metrical summary of the whole duty of a noble householder sketched in a prose discourse, called the Singālavāda Sutta.⁶ The duties mentioned either in the Maṅgala Sutta or in the Singālavāda contained nothing which cannot be brought within the scope of the Grhya Sūtras.

The difference between the Grhya scheme and the Buddhist Maṅgala is one between symbolism and its meaning. This is clearly brought out in the Singālavāda Sutta in which the discourse has been set out in the ready-made symbolical scheme. A young householder used to salute the six quarters in the early morning just after his bath and before he changed his clothes out of respect for the dying word or behest of his father without any ado to grasp its meaning. Accepting the symbolical scheme implied in the

¹ Inscriptions of Aśoka, Rock Edict, IX : *asti jano ucāvacaṃ maṅgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā ābāha-vivāhesu vā putralābhesu vā pravāsamhi vā. Etamhi ca añamhi ca jano ucāvacaṃ maṅgalaṃ karote. Eta tu mahiḍāyo bahukaṃ ca bahuvidhaṃ ca chudaṃ ca nirarthaṃ ca maṅgalaṃ karote.* Bhandarkar and Majumdar, pp. 30-31.

² Matriculation Pāli Selection, Notes, p. 101; University of Calcutta.

³ The Conquest of Ceylon : Suttañ ca tesañ hatthesu laggetvā, etc. A Pāli Reader by D. Anderson, Part I, pp. 110-111; Lond., 1901.

⁴ The Maṅgala Sutta and the Rock Edicts of Aśoka—S. L. Mitra, Proc. 2nd Orient. Conf., Cal., 1922.

⁵ Khuddaka-Pāṭha (Ed. Smith), p. 3, Maṅgala Sutta : *Bahū devā manussā ca maṅgalāni acintayum | ākaṃkhamānā soṭṭhānaṃ brūhi maṅgalaṃ uttamaṃ |*

⁶ Dīgha Nikāya, XXXI, Vol. III, pp. 180-193, P.T.S.

daily practice of the young householder the Buddha tried to deepen its significance by saying: 'This, O, son of the householder! is not verily the mode of saluting the six quarters in accordance with the approved discipline of the cultured people (*ariyassa vinaye*). According to that discipline, the six quarters are the six persons to whom a householder holds some indispensable duties and obligations, the parents representing the eastern quarter (*puratthima*); the teachers, the southern; the family, the western; the friends and relations, the northern; the slaves and servants the nadir (*hetthima*) and the religious teachers representing the zenith (*uparima*) and the mode of saluting the six quarters consists in the earnest fulfilment of these duties and obligations.'¹

Similarly in the social background of the *maṅgalas* set out in the *Maṅgala Sutta* (sometimes called *Mahāmaṅgala Suttanta*) and also in the *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* (Fausböll No. 453)² we have mention of certain superstitious beliefs and practices, which too fall within the scope of the *Grhyasūtras*. The beliefs and practices are distinguished as: (1) *dittha-maṅgala*, belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain sights and the facing of welcome sights and the avoidance of unwelcome sights with that belief; (2) *Suta-maṅgala*, the belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain sounds, and the greeting of welcome sounds and the avoidance of unwelcome sounds in accordance with that belief; and (3) *muta-maṅgala*, the belief in the auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain touches and the greeting of welcome touches and the avoidance of unwelcome touches in accordance with that belief.³

Even behind these *maṅgalas* or superstitious practices there is an idea of the personal hygiene and well-being of the self. Those sights, sounds and touches are sought to be avoided which offended

¹ Text, *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. III (P.T.S.), p. 181.

² Cambridge English Ed., Vol. IV, pp. 46-47. Cf. *Sutta Nipāta*, ii, 4. The *maṅgalas* taught by the Buddha in the *Maṅgala Sutta* differ in their tone and quality from those propounded by the Bodhisatva in the *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka*.

³ According to the *Mahāmaṅgala Jātaka* Omens of sight are: A perfectly white bull, a woman with child, a red fish, a jar filled to the brim, new-melted ghee of cow's milk, a new unwashed garment and rice porridge; Omens of sound are: growing, eat, chew, etc.; Omens of touch are—earth, green grass, fresh cowdung, a clean robe, a red fish, gold or silver and food.

Cf. धेनुर्वत्सप्रयुक्ता दध्मज्जनतुरगा दक्षिणावर्त्तवक्त्रिः

दिव्यलो पूर्यङ्गुष्मा द्विजन्तुपगणिका पुष्पमाञ्जा पताका ।

सद्यो मांसं दृतं वा दधि-मधु-रजतं काष्ठं शूलाधान्यं

ददुःखं पठित्वा फलमिह लभते मानवो ब्रह्मकामः ॥

or affected the moral sensibility of a cultured man or woman. And those sights, sounds and touches were welcomed that might be calculated to be pleasing or agreeable to that moral sense.

Śuci (purity) and *snāna* (bathing) are the two terms that express together the idea of personal hygiene, bathing serving as a means and purity denoting the result. Of purity and bathing there are two aspects, external and internal. The external aspect is that which finds its expression in words and actions, and the internal aspect (*antara-snāna*)¹ is that which concerns the mind and the mental state, in short, character. Buddhism and such like religions shifted the emphasis from the external modes and means of purity to the internal,² while the Grhya rites and rituals were devised to serve both as external and as internal modes and means with apparently more emphasis on the side of the external. The Samskāras constituted those very rites and rituals which were considered sufficient as a means to the personal hygiene and well-being of a cultured householder.

Poetry and philosophy on the one hand and science and superstition on the other are beautifully intermingled in them. In the words of Barth 'The very ancient and always ingenious and suggestive symbolism which invests the majority of these usages is often of very great beauty ; and from the whole there stands forth the image of a life at once grave and lovable, and which, though bristling somewhat with formalities, is nevertheless serviceably active, and nowise morose or inimical to joyfulness of heart'.³

The domestic rites and rituals, as prescribed and codified in the Grhyasūtras, were punctiliously observed among the twice-born classes of the Indo-Aryan community. These rites and rituals are observed up till now among all sections of the Hindus. We need not go into the origin of these rites and rituals, we may take it for granted that the Grhyasūtras presuppose certain Grhya hymns in the R̥g-Veda which were incorporated in the Atharvan Collection though in altered settings of the Riks, or individual verses, obviously to suit the programme actually followed in the society. We may even go so far as to suggest that it is with the incorporation of those hymns from the R̥g-Veda that the growing Atharvan Collection was ultimately recognized as a Veda. The Grhya hymns in the R̥g-Veda themselves presuppose the existence of some well-known domestic rites, the hymns serving only to heighten their importance. In connection with each of the rites the Grhyasūtras prescribe

¹ Majjhima Nikāya, I, Vatthūpama-Sutta (7).

² Barua, *Gaya and Buddha Gaya*, Vol. I, p. 93f.

³ Barth, *The Religions of India*, London, 1921.

recital of certain texts, only the catch-words of which are generally given.

These rites and rituals constitute together certain ceremonies the order and enumeration of which vary with different authorities. The continuity of the Grhya texts can be followed through the Dharmasūtras, the Dharma-śāstras, their later commentaries and digests.¹

¹ *Vedic Period*.—Prominence is given to only two ceremonies, namely, marriage and funeral, though a reference to holy rites is being made in R.V., III, 62, 10-12.

Sūtra Period.—The performance of purificatory ceremonies, or Saṁskāras beginning with the Garbhādhāna or the rite of impregnation and ending with the *Antyeṣṭi* or the funeral rite including *Śrāddha* as enumerated in the Grhya Sūtras, are many and varied. Their number is more than fifty.

Āśvalāyana prescribes that of these, sixteen are to be performed as occasions for them arise, seven are to be performed once a year, one every month and the rest daily :

नैमित्तिकाः षोडशोक्ताः समुदाहावसानकाः ।
सप्तैवाप्रयणाद्याश्च संस्कारा वार्षिका मताः ॥
मासिकं पार्वणं प्रोक्तमशक्तानां तु वार्षिकम् ।
महायज्ञाश्च नित्याः स्युः संध्यावर्षाग्निहोत्रवत् ॥

Hārīta, however, divides all these Saṁskāras into two broad groups, Brāhma and Daiva. He also speaks of the merits to be achieved by the performance of such rites :

द्विविधा एव संस्कारो भवति ब्राह्मो देवश्च । गर्भाधानादिः स्मार्तो ब्राह्मः । पाकयज्ञा हविर्यज्ञाश्चेति देवः ॥ ब्राह्मणे संस्कारेण संस्तुतः ऋषीणां सलोकतां गच्छति । देवेनोत्तरेण संस्तुतो देवानां समानतां सलोकतां गच्छतीति ।

Gautama (VIII, 18-20) enumerates forty Saṁskāras :

गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सौमन्तोदयन-जातकर्म-नामकरणाग्नप्राशन-चौलोपनयनानि चत्वारि वेदव्रतानि खानं सप्तधर्मैश्चरिषीसंयोगः पक्षाणां यज्ञानामनुष्ठानमष्टका पार्वणः द्वाहं श्रावण्याग्रहायणी-चैत्र्याश्वयुजीति सप्तपाक-यज्ञसंस्था अग्न्याधेयमग्निहोत्रं दर्शपूर्णमासी चातुर्मास्यान्यापयणेष्टिर्निरुदपशुबन्धः सौचामषीति सप्त हविर्यज्ञसंस्था अग्निष्टोमोऽन्यग्निष्टोम—उक्थः षोडशी वाजपेयोऽतिरात्रोऽग्नौर्धाम इति सप्तसोमसंस्था इत्येते चत्वारिंशत्सं-स्काराः ॥ इति ।

Of these forty rites the first *fourteen* are occasionals : Garbhādhāna, pūmsavana, śimantonnayana, jātakarma, nāmakaṛaṇa, annaprāśana, cūḍākaṛaṇa, upanayana, snāna, marriage, and four Vedavratas (only the first ten, *daśakarma*, are now in vogue amongst the Hindus of Bengal). The next *five* are Mahāyajñas : Oblations to god, pitṛis, living beings in general, men and ṛṣis ; *seven* are Pākayajñas, or little domestic sacrifices : Aṣṭaka (on the eighth day of four winter months), pārvana (on the days of new and full moon), śrāddha (funeral oblations), śrāvani, agrahāyaṇi, caitri and aśvayujī (in different months), *seven* are Haviryajñas or iṣṭis : Agnyādheya (setting up of the sacred hearth), agnihotra (daily oblations to three fires), darśa-pūrṇamāsa (iṣṭis of the new and full moon), agrayaṇa (first fruits of harvest), cāturmāsyā (at the beginning of each of the three seasons), nirūḍhapaśubandha (the animal sacrifice) and sautrāmaṇi and the last *seven* are the Soma sacrifices : Agniṣṭoma, atyagniṣṭoma, ukthya, ṣoḍaśin, vājapeya, atirātra and aptoryāma. For a detailed exposition of these rites and rituals see Ind. Stud., X, p. 322 seq.

The setting up of the Grhya fire (*grhyāgni*) is the essential ceremony, and all the rites and rituals prescribed in the Grhyasūtras centre round it. The agent who is to perform all these ceremonies

Angira mentions twenty-five Saṁskāras in the life of a man :

गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तो बहिरिव च ।
जातकृत्यं नामकर्म्म निष्क्रमोद्गाशनं परम् ॥
चूडोपनयनं तद्व्रतानां चतुष्टयम् ।
दानोद्वाहो चापयणमहाशय यथायथम् ॥
आवष्टामाश्रयुष्यां च मार्गशीर्ष्यां च पार्वणम् ।
उत्सर्गश्चाप्युपाकर्म्म महायज्ञाश्च नित्यशः ॥
संस्कारा नियताह्येते ब्राह्मणस्य विशेषतः ।
पञ्चविंशति संस्कारैः संस्कृता ये द्विजातयः ।
ते पवित्राश्च योग्याश्च आद्यादिषु सुयन्त्रिताः ॥

Vyāsa Saṁhitā recommends sixteen Saṁskāras :

गर्भाधानं पुंसवनं सीमन्तो जातकर्म च ।
नामक्रिया निष्क्रमणमग्राशनं च वपनक्रिया ॥ १२
कर्णवेधो व्रतादेश वेदारम्भ-क्रियाविधिः ।
केशान्तस्नानमुद्वाहो विवाहपिपरिग्रहः ॥ १४
चेताग्रिसंग्रहश्चेति संस्काराः षोडशः स्मृताः ॥

Viṣṇu Purāṇa also fixes the number at sixteen :

गर्भाधान-पुंसवन-सीमन्तोद्गयन-विष्णुबलि जातकर्म-नामकरण-निष्क्रमणमग्राशन-चूडोपनयन-वेदव्रत-
चतुष्टय-समावर्तन-विवाहाः षोडशसंस्काराः III, x, Comm. on Śloka 1; cf. Gaḍuḍa Pur. 3/23.

Mahānirvāṇa Tantra reduces the number to ten only :

जीवसेकः पुंसवनं सीमन्तोद्गयनं तथा ।
जातनाम्नी निष्क्रमणमग्राशनमतः परम् ॥
चूडोपनयनोद्वाहाः संस्काराः कथिता दश ॥ ४
शूद्राणां शूद्राभिन्नानामुपवीतं न विद्यते ।
तेषां नवैव संस्कारा द्विजातीनां दश स्मृताः ॥ ५

Pūrva Khaṇḍam, Navamullāsa. Manu II, 27, 28—adds to the above list of ten, Keśānta, or godāna (celebrating the day on which the young man first shaves his hair) and pretakarma (funeral obsequies). The above saṁskāras are also prescribed for women without mantras, the only omission being the initiation (Upanayana) which is replaced by marriage. Cf. also Manu II, 66, 67; Yājñavalkya, i, 13.

For other references see—The Religions of India by A. Barth (Lond., 1921); The Rites of the Twice-Born—Mrs. Sinclair (Lond., 1920); Maxmüller—Die Totdenbestattung bei den Brahmanen : Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellsch; t. ix; F. Haas—Die Heiratsgebrüche der alten Inder nach den Grhysūtra, with additions by A. Weber, in the Ind. Studien, t.v.; O. Donner—Pindapitriyajña, das Manenopfer mit klößen bei den Indern, 1870. The last particularly in connection with the marriage and funeral ceremonies. Saṁskāra Mayūkha—Saṅkara Bhatta, pp. 10-12, Bombay, 1913; Bhabadeva Bhatta—History of Dharmaśāstras; P. V. Kain, Vol. I, pp. 302, Poona, 1930.

is the householder. The householder as treated off in the Gr̥hya-sūtras, is a natural agent for procreation. He is the person who is burdened with certain household duties. The Gr̥hya hymns in the R̥g-Veda expressly deal with two topics, namely, marriage and funeral. There are two hymns, namely, the hymn of Vāmadeva, and the hymn on Frogs, in the first of which we have some sort of a conception of the birth in the womb and in the second a reference to the chanting of hymns by the Brahmacārins of the time. We can say that the domestic rites and rituals are connected with four things in life, namely, birth, studentship, marriage and death. Those relating to birth may be further discriminated as pre-natal, natal and post-natal. Those relating to studentship may be discriminated as those connected with initiation, those with actual studentship and those with the completion of the course of the study. Those relating to marriage may be likewise discriminated as pre-nuptial, nuptial and post-nuptial. And those relating to death may also be discriminated as pre-obituary, obituary and post-obituary. The Sanskrit technical names for the above ceremonies are as follows :

A. Those relating to Birth—

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Pre-natal | (i) Garbhādhāna, |
| | (ii) Pūṁsavana, |
| | (iii) Śimantonnayana. |
| (b) Natal | (i) Jātakarma. |
| (c) Post-natal | (i) Nāmakaraṇa, |
| | (ii) Niṣkramaṇa, |
| | (iii) Annaprāśana, |
| | (iv) Cuḍākaraṇa. |

B. Those relating to Studentship—

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| (a) Initiation | (i) Upanayana. |
| (b) Studentship | (i) Brahmacarya. |
| (c) Completion of the course | (i) Samāvartana. |

C. Those relating to Marriage—

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Pre-nuptial | (i) Vāgdāna. |
| (b) Nuptial | (i) Sampradāna. |
| (c) Post-nuptial | (i) Dvirāgamana, |
| | (ii) Pañcamahāyajñas. |

D. Those relating to Death—

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| (a) Pre-obituary | (i) Antarjali. |
| (b) Obituary | (i) Antyeṣṭi. |
| (c) Post-obituary | (i) Śrāddha. |

ASSES, HORSES AND GANDHARVAS

By JEAN PRZYLUCKI

1. 'The Vedic (and Indo-European) name for horse, *asva*, says Prof. J. BLOCH, is no longer represented to-day in Indo-Aryan except on the confines of the Iranian world where the corresponding word is still living (GRIERSON, *Piśāca Language*, p. 73, and the list of *Ling. Survey*, No. 68). The word which has replaced it in all other parts of the country occurs in the Śrauta Sūtra of Āpastamba—a text which appears to be of southern origin (cf. Bühler, *SEE*, II, p. xxx) under the form *ghoṭa*. Mr. J. CHARPENTIER has tried (*KZ*, XL, p. 441) to identify this word with German *gaul*; this equivalence would be strange by itself; Prof. SOMMER has shown (*IF*, XXXI, p. 362) that this Germanic word has its correspondents in Slavonic and not in Indian. On the other hand, the similarity of *ghoṭa* with some Dravidian forms with the same meaning has long been recognized: Tel. *giṛamu*.; Can. *kudure*; Tam. *kudirei* (Gondi *Kōṛā* is suspected to be borrowed from Hindi *ghoṛā* like Kui *gōḍā*); the Dravidian form which has preceded the Hindi word amongst the Gonds is undoubtedly that which accounts for Gadaba *krutā* and Savara *kurtā*, alone of their kind in Munda. The Brahui *hulli* is out of the question; on the value of initial *h*, cf. on one hand Br. *hal* "rat", *hēt* "goat", *hīn* "to deposit" and Tam. *eli*, *ādu*, *īn*; on the other Br. *hur* and Gondi *hūr*, Kui *sūd* (cf. TUTTLE, *Am. J. Phil.*, XL, p. 84).

'It is easy to reconstitute the common prototype of all these forms **ghutr*-. In the same process one gets some important data for the history of Dravidian phonetics:

'1st. The consonantal group has been eliminated in Telugu by total assimilation, in Tamil and Canarese by vocalic insertion.

'2nd. In the last two languages, the intervocalic surd is changed into a sonant...

'3rd. In the same languages the initial consonant is changed into a surd...

'If it were certain that the Sanskrit word was borrowed from Dravidian, one could have rightly deduced at once a fourth observation, more important than all the previous ones. In that case the most ancient Dravidian, in fact, would have had aspirate consonants... But the name of the horse is essentially a name sub-

ject to renewal and no one can foresee whence the new name would be taken...'¹

2. Having mentioned again the forms of the word for horse in the Dravidian languages, Prof. P. C. BAGCHI adds: 'All these forms of the word show the possibility of the existence of another form like *kolla* which might have given rise to *kolha* of Kolhapur. It is probably the name of Kolhapur which is referred to as *Kollagiri* in the medieval Tantrik literature (cf. for example the *Dākārṇava*, H. P. SASTRI, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of A.S.B.*, Vol. I, p. 97) ... In fact FLEET (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 538 and p. 497) says that the more ancient name of Kolhapur was *Kollapura* ...'²

3. In a lecture which I delivered at Bruxelles in 1932, I said briefly: 'The school of Max MÜLLER had naturally noted the analogy between the name of the Centaurs and that of the Gandharva. In the language of the Avesta, *gandarəwa* corresponds exactly with the Sanskrit *gandharva*. To the first adepts of comparative mythology, followed again quite recently by M. DUMEZIL, Centaur, Gandarəwa, Gandharva describe a class of horse genii, the name and the cult of which are properly Indo-European. True, if one drops the last syllable *-va*, a common radical remains in Sanskrit and in Avestic: Gandhar, and it does not differ much from the Greek Kentaur. But the Indo-European quality of this radical is not at all demonstrated. I would rather incline to think that it is an old name of the horse: this name, though deformed, would have left some marks in the Dravidian languages where to this day it appears still in the forms *kudirei*, *kudri*, *kudira*, *kudure*, etc.'³

4. In 1934, Prof. St. SCHAYER wrote: 'There is beyond doubt a connection between the Greek Kentauros, Iranian Gandarewa and Indian Gandharva. Nevertheless the attempts to explain this connection by the comparative grammar of Indian-European languages are not convincing.'⁴ The word is probably not of Indo-European origin, and both the Indian Gandharva as well as the Greek Kentauros are folk etymologies⁵ based on the same loan

¹ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, transl. by. P. C. BAGCHI, pp. 46-49; *L'Indo-aryen*, p. 326.

² I.H.Q., IX, no. 1, p. 257.

³ *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, fév.-avr. 1932, p. 285. •

⁴ Besides A. KUHN, *Zeitschrift für vgl. Sprachforschung*, I, p. 513, there are two recent hypotheses to be noticed: H. Güntert, l. c., p. 69 and G. DUMEZIL, *Le Problème des Centaures*, 1929.

⁵ Buddhists (cf. *Abhidharmakosa* III, 47) explain Gandharva as 'he who eats smell', and the Tibetan Lotsavas translate it in the same way as *dri-za*.

word. Przyłuski's supposition,¹ that we are in presence of a word akin to the Dravidian names of horse (*kudirei*, etc.) deserves to be taken into account. It does not exclude the identification of Gandharva with *gardabha*, *garda* being probably also an un-Aryan loan word.² In the Atharva-Veda (VIII, 6) the Gandharvas bray like asses, and as the donkey is a notoriously lascivious animal, it fits in the erotic character of the Gandharvas.' And, in a footnote, the Prof. SCHAYER added: 'I am indebted to Prof. J. PRZYŁUSKI for the following remarks: "I have long been convinced that there is a link between *gandharva* and *gardabha* . . . In un-Aryan India, as with the Sumerians, the horse, being of late importation, may have received the name of the ass. In Sumerian, the horse is called "the foreign ass". This is generally translated by "mountain ass", but THUREAU-DANGIN has proved that "*kur* can mean "foreign" as well as "mountain"'.³

5. Then, quite recently, Prof. S. K. CHATTERJI writes: '... the element *Śāli* in *Śāli-hotra* is unquestionably the same that we see in the name *Śāli-vāhana*, which, along with its variant *Sāta* (in *Sāta-vāhana*) has been shown by J. PRZYŁUSKI (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929, pp. 273ff.) to be merely the ancient Kol (Austrian) word for the 'horse' (found in Santali as *sad-om*). The Skt. form *ghoṣa* would appear itself to be a Prakritic formation, its older form being **ghotra* or **ghutra*, a form to which we can at once affiliate the Dravidian equivalents—Tamil *kutirai*, Kannaḍa *kudure*, Telugu *gurra-mu*. The word **ghutra-ghoṣa-kutirai* is itself of doubtful origin, but it is a very old word, widely spread all over the Near East. An ancient Egyptian name for the horse, which doubtless came from Asia (from Asia Minor or Mesopotamia), was *ḥtr*, which would appear to be just a variant of **ghutra*. The Modern Greek name for the ass, *gadairos*, and the Turki word for the mule, *kalyr*, would appear to be connected with **ghutra-ḥtr*. For the present, we may tentatively look upon the word as extra-Indian (Asianic, that is belonging to Asia Minor and the Aegean?) non-Aryan which was probably brought in by the Dravidians: it may be that it is a genuine Dravidian word; and we should note the possibility of the Dravidians themselves being Mediterranean (Cretan) in origin. *Śāli-hotra* would seem to preserve an old form of *ghoṣa* also, in its second element.'⁴

¹ *L'influence iranienne en Grèce et dans l'Inde*, RUB, 1932, p. 285.

² Cf. J. Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 50.

³ *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie, 1934, p. 65.

⁴ *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan*, Seventh Oriental Conference, pp. 183-185.

6. As I wrote to Prof. SCHAYER, and as I have taught for many years, I believe that the names of the ass, of the horse and of the *gandharva* are originally of a kin. The following facts can serve to back this hypothesis :

- (i) In Pali, the word for ass is *gadrabha*. In *gadrabha/gardabha*, the element *-bha*, which is a suffix well-known in the names of animals, can be isolated. Middle-Indian *gada*- 'ass', is close to *hotra* 'horse', and the name of the ass in Kurku, *gadrī*¹ can also be compared to it.
- (ii) Some time ago² I have studied, in certain languages of India, the following curious phenomenon: in the same word the aspiration is liable to move from one syllable to another. If we admit a connection between **ghotra*, *gandharva* and *gadrabha*, it must be noted that in this case the aspiration would appear to be moveable and to be placed either on the 1st, the 2nd or the 3rd syllable. In the Munda tongues the name of the ass varies in the same way between *gada*, *gada*, *gadrī* and *gadahā*.
- (iii) Sanskrit *mudrā* 'seal' has two equivalents: *mumdra*, *mumtra*, in the documents in Kharoṣṭhī, of Niya, and we find the following Iranian forms, which are believed to be borrowed from the Indian: bal. *mundarī*, 'ring, finger-ring', afgh. *mūndra* 'ring, ear-ring'.³ Between *mudrā* and *mundarī*, there is just about the same interval as between *gada*- and *gandhar*-.
- (iv) In Kui, we have *gōdā* 'horse' and *goḍo* 'ass'; in Tamil, *kudirei* 'horse', and *karudei* 'ass'; in Mal. *kudira* 'horse' and *karuda* 'ass'. These linguistical analogies can hardly be fortuitous, if we consider the likeness which the horse bears really to the ass. The two names do not derive directly the one from the other, but they may be two imperfect copies of the same original, which one feels inclined to look for in the Near East.
- (v) The Centaur's name is not the only indication of a

¹ On the reverse, the name for horse in Savara is *kurtā*. The metathesis *tr/rṭ*, *dr/rḍ* is observed in the name of the ass as well as in the name of the horse. M. J. BLOCH believes that both Savara *kurtā* and Gadaba *krutā* were borrowed by the Munda from the Dravidian. (*L'indo-aryen*, p. 326.)

² JA, 1926, I, p. 11 and fol. ; BSI., t. 30, 2, pp. 200-201.

³ LÜDERS, *Die sakischen Mura*, SPAW, dez. 1918, p. 742.

connection with the Near East. Midas is a royal name which appears more than once in the onomastics of Greece and of Asia Minor. According to the legend, Midas had the ears of an ass. He was, then, a king connected with the ass. Now the Macedonian Midas was the son of Gordias, and the Midas of Phrygia was the son of Gordios. One is tempted to recognize in Gordias and Gordios the same root as in *gardu-bha*. Besides, M. DUMEZIL has already compared Gordias and Gandharva and he observes that in the IIIrd Century A.D., the Phrygians of Nicée stamped a coin in honor of Emperor Gordianus Pius. This medal displays a man sitting on a horse which has a man's leg, and it bears the following legend: 'the horse with a man's leg of the Niceans', and this suggests a connection between the names belonging to the Gordios and Gordianus type, and the Centaurs.¹

7. The above observations lead us to suppose that the gandharvas were primitively conceived under the shape of an ass. Later on, the horse, looked upon as a nobler animal, replaced the ass. A mutation quite similar to this has happened in the cult of the Mother-Goddess. Originally, this goddess was pictured between two animals: birds, lions, etc., then, the horse has taken the place of those former acolytes which have become two horse-gods, and, finally, have changed into gods on horseback: the Ásvin. OLDENBERG has observed rightly that before they became horsemen, the Ásvin had been Horse-Gods. I have pointed out elsewhere that, in the Vedic period, the Ásvin were pictured as two birds.² The multiplicity of their animal shapes accounts for the fact that in the Vedic hymns the Ásvin's chariot is drawn by horses, birds, buffaloes, one or several asses.³

8. If the gandharvas were asses primitively, their true nature is more easily explained. The gandharvas are lubric and musical beings. Those are precisely the distinctive features of the ass, lascivious and noisy animal. Let us recall, moreover, that in AV, VIII, 6, the gandharvas bray like asses.

9. The part played by the gandharva in the popular Buddhist theory of reincarnation has been compared by Prof. St. SCHAYER with its part in the Vedic wedlock rites: '... at the moment of death, the individual loses his psycho-physical apparatus and becomes a

¹ Cf. G. DUMEZIL, *Le Problème des Centaures*, pp. 241-250.

² *Les Ásvin et la Grande Déesse*, Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, I, 1, p. 133.

³ V. H. VADER, *The twin gods Ásvinau*, IHQ, 8, p. 275.

so-called Gandharva, a separate being in the "intermediary state", which sets forth into the world to look for the womb of its future mother. As soon as it finds its proper parents—"proper" meaning that they belong to the class of beings in which it is to be born in accordance with its karmic destination—it "keeps ready" (*pratyupasthita*) and, on the occasion of its parents' coition enters its mother's vulva. The part played by parents, especially by the father, is quite secondary and the whole process strongly reminds the ratapa theory of the Australian Arandas, with this difference, however, that the ratapas are emanations of mythical ancestors. . . . It is worth noticing that the part of Gandharva in the Vedic wedlock rites stands in no contradiction to the Buddhist conception: before the betrothed is allowed to be united with her husband, she belongs, for three nights to the Gandharva Viśvavāsu. During that time the newly wedded couple sleeps chastely on the ground separated by a staff representing the Gandharva, anointed with scents and adorned with materials and cords.¹

10. Now the following conclusion seems to impress itself upon us. Before the betrothed is allowed to be united with her husband, she belongs to the Gandharva Viśvavāsu. The child born of this union belongs, consequently, to the race of the Gandharvas; so that in the societies where the old beliefs were preserved, the children of men were asses in reality. Some elements exist in Indian onomastics, which can be explained by the persistence of this belief.

Amongst the populations which use the Munda languages we note the Gadabā tribe, the dialect of which is very unsatisfactorily known. It is spoken by about 35,000 individuals.² It seems difficult to separate Gadabā from the name of the ass. In the Gadabā dialect, as it is spoken in the State of Bastar, the name of the ass has the forms of *gadhaī* and *gadōḍī*, but the dialect is not exactly the same in the different places.

In the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* (trsl. WILSON, pp. 474, 475), Garddhaba or Gardabhin is the name of a dynasty. Mark, in Garddhaba, how the aspiration has moved. Besides, the family of Gardabhila appears in the Purāṇas among the successors of the Andhras.³ The Jain story of Kālaka, the *Kālakācāryakathā*, records how the saint Kālaka, having been insulted by King Gardabhilla of Ujjain, went to the land of the Śakas and persuaded a number of Śaka

¹ *Bulletin de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie, 1934, pp. 61, 64.

² *Ling. Surv. of India*, Vol. IV, p. 229.

³ Cf. *Kali Age*, pp. 44-46, 72 and *Camb. Hist. of India*, I, p. 533.

satraps to invade Ujjain and overthrow the dynasty of Gardabhilla.¹ Upon the illustrations of the manuscripts which relate this story, the city wall of Ujjain is shown with a towered gate. King Gardabhilla sits within, weaving his spells before a brazier and the She-Ass magic appears before him, standing upon one of the towers. Its mouth is wide open to bray.² According to some legends, Gardabhilla is the father of Vikramāditya. Other texts tell us that Vikramāditya's father was a divinity named Gāndharvasena, who had been cursed to wear the shape of an ass.³ I have shown, elsewhere,⁴ that the element *-sena* is an un-Aryan suffix. *Gandharvasena* is to *gandharva* what *Gardabhilla* is to *gardabha*. The variations in the legend prove that *gardabha* = *gandharva*. An ass of divine essence was the protector of Ujjain, as well as the ancestor of its kings.

11. Similar beliefs have survived in Dekhan to the modern times. By a letter which father DE BOURZES wrote in 1713, from the mission at Madure, we gather that in that country an entire caste claims to be issued from an ass, and that it is the royal caste. 'Those belonging to this caste, writes the missionary, treat the asses as their own brothers.'⁵

12. If one starts from *gandharva* now, it seems possible to explain some other ethnical names. Let us compare Greek *Kentauros*, Iranian *Gandarōwa*, and Indian *Gandharva*. Clearly, the element *-va* is a suffix, like the terminal *-bha* of *Gardabha*.⁶ So that, as we can separate the element *gandhar-*, we obtain the ethnical *Gandhāra*, *Gāndhāra*, *Gandhāri*, *Gāndhāri*. The third form is already testified for in the Vedic hymns. Herodotus III, 91, knows the *Gandarioi*, which Ptolemy calls *Gandarai*.⁷

In the *Mahābhārata* I, 115, *Gāndhārī* is the daughter of the *Gāndhāra* king *Subala*, the wife of *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* and the mother of *Duryodhana*. One day, *Dvaipāyana* granted her the boon that she should have 100 sons. As soon as *Duryodhana* was born he began to cry like an ass. This legend reveals still the signs of the antique connection between the ass and the *Gāndhāra*.

¹ W. NORMAN BROWN, *The story of Kālaka*, pp. 56, 80, 106.

² *The story of Kālaka*, *ibid.*, pl. 12 and fig. 16.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 60, n. 17.

⁴ RHA, 9, Oct., 1932, p. 58 and fol. The suffix *-sena* is added sometimes to un-Aryan ethnics. Cf. *Kalingasena*.

⁵ *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Paris, 1781, t. XII, pp. 94-95.

⁶ About the links between the suffixes *-bha* and *-va*, cf. *Un ancien peuple du Penjab : les Salva*, JA, 1929, II, p. 318, where I have compared *salva* and *sarabha*.

⁷ Ptolemy VII, 1, 44; cf. Diod. Sic. II, 37 *Gandaridai*.

13. We know that in the un-Aryan languages of India the guttural initial could be softened, or could disappear completely.¹ Gandhar- was then liable to have the form *andhar-*. Pliny VI, 67, mentions the Andarae, meaning thus the great un-Aryan people of Dekhan, the name of which is Andhra in Skt. and Andha in Middle-Indian.² I have demonstrated long since that the Andhra- or at least the royal caste of this people—were the Sons of the Horse, and we have just seen here that the mythical Horse has replaced the Ass. We reach the same point again, though by a different path.³

¹ *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 29, 150.

² *Sp.* I, 255, 28 (ad. Vin. III, 27, 35) *milakkhukam nāma yo koci anariyako Andha-Damīlādi*, quoted in D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH, *A Critical Pali Dictionary*, s.v. Andha.

³ My previous researches about Hippokoura, Satiyaputra and Satakarni have been discussed recently by V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR (*Indian Culture*, Jan., 1936, pp. 549ff.), who rejects my conclusions for three principal reasons: (1) *kura* is not an Indian word meaning town; (2) *hippo-* is a Greek noun, *kura* belongs to another language; (3) if Baleokoura is a king's name, it cannot be the name of the capital. The answer to these objections shall be found in: (1) SYLVAIN LEVI, *Paloura-Dantapura*, in *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 173-175, and cf. *ibid.*, pp. 137-139; (2) S. K. CHATTERJI, *Polyglottism in Indo-Aryan*, Seventh Oriental Conference, p. 177 and fol. ('translation-compounds'); (3) JRAS, April, 1929, p. 276. The results to which the study of the un-Aryan nouns leads are not in contradiction with history, as M. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR thinks. They rise against tradition only.

TRACES OF UGRIAN OCCUPATION OF INDIA

By B. BONNERJEA

During the last few years much has been written in various scientific journals of Europe and America, and more in the daily press, about the supposed relationship between Finno-Ugrian (FU) and Muṇḍā languages; and just now the controversy concerning the position of Muṇḍā languages is as spirited as ever.

In 1906 Pater W. Schmidt published a work in which he attempted to prove that the Muṇḍā languages belonged to the 'Austro-Asiatic' family of languages created by himself.¹ For almost a quarter of a century this hypothesis remained unchallenged; but in 1930 de Hevesy questioned the existence of the 'Austro-Asiatic' languages and suggested that the Muṇḍā languages belong to the FU stock, and two years later, in 1932, he published a book in which he amplified his former suggestion.² This, as can be imagined, stirred up a veritable hornet's nest. The Viennese school headed by Schmidt, as well as the FU scholars in Hungary and Finland, with very few exceptions, have refused to accept de Hevesy's conclusions. Schmidt insists that the Muṇḍā languages are formed by prefixation³; and the FU scholars have not taken any definite attitude—either for or against—towards this question.⁴

The reason for this seeming indifference is perhaps to be looked for in the almost complete ignorance on the part of the FU scholars in all matters connected with the Muṇḍā people and their language. Even the very name is totally unknown to the large majority of FU scholars versed in linguistics; and FU languages are *terra incognita* to all Indian scholars.

Matters stood thus when, in January 1935, the present writer, an ethnologist, decided to study FU linguistics so as to be able to

¹ W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker. Ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens* (Brunswick, 1906). *Id.*, 'La position des langues munda', *Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques* [Conférence : le 2 août 1934], London.

² W. von Hevesy, 'On W. Schmidt's Munda-Mon-Khmer Comparisons, etc.', *Bull. School Or. Lang.*, vi (London, 1930), pp. 187-200. *Id.*, *Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien* (Vienna, 1932).

³ Schmidt, *loc. cit.*

⁴ The criticisms of de Hevesy's works by A. Sauvageot (in *Bull. de la Soc. de Ling. de Paris*, xxxiv, p. 180 sq. [Answer, *ibid.*, p. 237 sq.]) and Göbl-Gáldi (*Revue des Etudes Hongroises*, 1933, p. 334 sq. [Answer, *ibid.*, 1934, p. 203 sq.]) are superficial and biased; hence they cannot be taken seriously.

give an opinion on the subject, and as a result, at the invitation of the Hungarian Minister of Education, came to Budapest in the capacity of 'Maitre des Conférences' at the Royal University.

The idea that there is a connection between the languages of India and those of the FU group is by no means a new one. Körösi-Csoma (1784-1842) looked for Hungarian (Magyar) origins in India. Eugen Toth and Francis Zajti thought on insufficient evidence that they had discovered in India the Hun settlements. As long as nearly eighty years ago Caldwell and Max Müller, and a little later Gabriel Balint, and quite recently Schrader of Kiel thought that they had discovered similarities between FU and the Dravidian languages of Southern India.¹ But these similarities were merely lexical similarities; morphologically there is no resemblance between them, and therefore they could have occurred only through chance borrowings and there can be no question of a genetic relationship between FU and Dravidian.

On the other hand the theory brought forward by de Hevesy that there is a close relationship between FU and Muṇḍā, in spite of its many shortcomings in technique, seems to be worthy of serious consideration. In one of his latest works Hevesy says: 'Wird auch volle Klarheit und ganze Gewissheit erst auf Grund sprachgeschichtlicher Untersuchungen zu erlangen sein: so kann zusammenfassend bereits heute gesagt werden, dass ein besonders hoher Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit dafür besteht, dass die Mundasprachen dem ugrischen Zweige der finnisch-ugrischen (uralischen) Sprachfamilie angehören'.²

Daring statements such as the one quoted above cannot be allowed to go unanswered. After this challenge, as it were to the whole of the scientific world, we have no alternative but to take up the gauntlet thrown before us. The results obtained so far from a study of the two groups of languages are, to say the least, startling. On morphological similarities it is seen that Hevesy's general thesis regarding the genetic relationship between FU and Muṇḍā is correct.³ But this linguistic relationship brings up too many ethnological problems which are as yet far from any solution,

¹ F. O. Schrader, 'Drawidisch und Uralisch', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iii (1925), pp. 81-112.

² W. von Hevesy, in *Mitteilungen an den III-ten Internationalen Kongress der Linguisten* (Rome [typed MS.]), p. 25.

³ See for example, B. Bonnerjea, 'A munda nyelvekről', *Magyar Nyelvőr*, lxiv (Budapest, 1935), pp. 99-102, 124-130; *Id.*, 'de Hevesy on Munda and Finno-Ugrian Linguistics, and Easter Island Script', *American Anthropologist*, new ser. xxxviii (1936), pp. 148-149; *Id.*, 'Hungary and India', *Polyglot Herald*, Budapest, 1st May, 1936, p. 1.

and will probably require many years of intensive study before they can be answered with any degree of certainty.

The Muṇḍā peoples of the present day are principally situated in Choṭā Nāgpur.¹ Anthropologically they show an admixture of the Mongoloides. The Muṇḍā languages together with the dialects are spoken by approximately 3 million people. According to one of their traditions they came to their present domicile from another country situated in the west, and they were originally in Sapta-Sindhu. The same tradition also relates that at the time of their immigration eastwards they split up into different tribes or nations, and that after being driven from one country to another they finally came and settled in the Santāl Parganās.² We shall see later on how far these traditions are of any value.

The FU languages are (1) Hungarian or Magyar (Magy.), in Hungary; (2) Vogul, east of the Ural Mts. in the governments of Perm and Tobolsk; (3) Ostyak (Ost.), also in Tobolsk; (4) Syrienian, in the governments of Vologda, Archangel, Wjatka and Perm; (5) Votyak (Vot.), in Wjatka and Ufa; (6) Cheremis, in Wjatka, Kazan, Ufa, Perm, Kostroma and Nizniy-Novogorod; (7) Mordwin (Mord.), in Samara, Simbirsk, Pensa, Saratow, Tambow and Nizniy-Novogorod; (8) Finn, in Finland; and (9) Lapp, in Lappland. To these we may add Samoyed, which, according to Setälä,³ is closely related.

As yet we are not certain if we know all the Muṇḍā languages.⁴ In Ganjam Ramamurti has recently discovered a new one.⁵ Be that as it may, it is certain that the Kherwari group of Muṇḍā languages—about 11 in all—differ from each other only dialectically. This particular group of languages has been variously designated; the Danish scholars called it 'Kherwari'; the present writer had called the peoples speaking these languages 'Kolarians';⁶ the *Linguistic Survey of India* calls them Muṇḍā; and of late years the term 'Austro-Asiatic' has been applied to them. But the nomenclature itself is of minor importance. Hevesy gives the derivation of *Kherwar* = *Jäger* (hunter). The word Muṇḍā is Indo-

¹ Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), pp. 14-49.

² Bonnerjea, 'The Social and Ceremonial Life of the Santāls', *The Indian Antiquary*, lix (Bombay, 1930), p. 58.

³ E. N. Setälä, 'Zur Frage der Verwandtschaft der finno-ugrischen und samo-jedischen Sprachen', *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Aikakauskirja* [*Journal de Société Finno-Ougrienne*], xxx (Helsingfors, 1918), No. 5.

⁴ Munda languages known so far are enumerated in *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IV.

⁵ G. V. Ramamurti, *A Manual of the Savara or So:ra: Language* (Madras, 1931).

⁶ Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, Ch. II.

Aryan (IA) ; it denotes ' chieftain ; village chief ', and it still survives in certain modern Indian languages in a corrupted form, as in Bengali *mundu*. Another designation of the same people is *māñši* (*māñjhi*), a designation also to be found among the Voguls. Munkácsi derives the word magyar from an original root which also gave the Voguls their name for themselves.¹ Without however, going into a discussion as to the etymology of the word, we may state that the word *Muṇḍā* is used here merely as a conventional term to comprise all the languages and dialects belonging to this family, viz. Santali, Karmali, Turi, Gadaba, Kharia, Mundari, Nahali, Bhumij, Birhor, Koda, Ho, Asuri, Turi, Korwa, Juang, Kurku and Savara or So:ra:. Of all these languages the most important as well as the best studied, both structurally as well as phonetically, is Santali ; and Savara has the distinction of being the first language in the world which has adopted the International Phonetic Script as its alphabet.²

How similar the two groups of languages, FU and Muṇḍā, are may be seen from the few examples given below. Both groups belong to what is called the agglutinating family of languages. There is no sharp distinction between the different parts of speech, such as nouns, pronouns, verbs, and so on ; the context alone shows whether a word is used as a noun or an adjective or a verb. In fact, verbal suffixes may be added to all words irrespective of whether they are nouns, adjectives, personal pronouns, and even numerals and interjections.³ In other words every base in Muṇḍā is also a verbal base. This seems to have been a peculiarity of FÜ tongues.⁴ Prefixes—in direct contradiction to the opinion expressed by Schmidt—are not used in the formation of Muṇḍā words, and there is not one single genuine Muṇḍā word formed with a prefix ; such words as are formed by prefixation are borrowed from IA languages, e.g. the prefixes *a-*, *an-*, *be-*, *nir-*, and so on.⁵ In the formation of Muṇḍā words suffixes principally employed, although it must be admitted that in several Munda languages infixation too is used. The use of infixes is contrary to FU, and hence Hevesy explains it by saying that infixation in Muṇḍā is of a comparatively recent date,⁶ and had been borrowed from their neighbours for their

¹ Munkácsi Bernát, *Árja és kaukázusi elemek a finn-magyar nyelvekben* [Aryan and Caucasian Elements in Finno-Ugrian Languages], vol. i (Budapest, 1901) p. 454 sq. ; *Id.*, ' Vogul tankönyvek ', *Magyar Nyelvőr*, lxiv (1935), pp. 27, 28, 29.

² Ramamurti, *op. cit.*, p. xx.

³ P. O. Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, ii (Dumka, 1929), p. 2 sq.

⁴ Hevesy, *Finnisch-ugrisches*, p. 13, citing Balassa J. és Simonyi Z., *Magyar hangtan és alakján* (Budapest, 1895), pp. 77, 80.

⁵ Private communication from Rev. P. O. Bodding.

⁶ Hevesy, *op. cit.*, p. 110, citing E. Scott, in BSOS., 1920, p. 171.

convenience. Thus, for example, the infix *-p-* denotes reciprocity, and hence we have *čok-* 'to kiss' and *čok-p-ok* 'they kiss each other'. How far this is right it is as yet difficult to say, but the fact that in the languages of Further India it is almost impossible to do without infixation—as in certain languages of the Malay Peninsula—whereas in Muṇḍā it is not so, speaks in favour of Hevesy. That infixation is not an integral part of Muṇḍā is attested by Hoffmann¹ who studied Mundari more than thirty years ago. According to him infixes are used only for greater emphasis. In Kurku infixes seem to be practically missing; Drake² thought that he had discovered only one, *-p-* in the word *ā-pā-rang* 'to quarrel', which he derived from *ārāng* 'to abuse'. The use of infixes therefore does not seem to be as important in Muṇḍā languages as it was hitherto supposed; but it was merely a better instrument for expressing one's self.

With regard to Muṇḍā phonetics we are unfortunately not in a position to say anything with definiteness. The only languages which have so far been studied phonetically are Santali and Savara. So we must content ourselves with only a few general remarks. It is true that all Muṇḍā languages have been influenced by the neighbouring IA languages, yet in their grammatical structure they have retained their original form. Like all other Indian languages Muṇḍā possesses the cerebral sounds *t-* and *ḍ-*; the existence of these same cacuminal sounds has been proved for the original FU language as also for modern Ostyak. Similarly FU possessed the aspirated *d'-*, *t'-*, *g'-*, *k'-*, *b'-* and *p'-* sounds of Muṇḍā. Certain phonetic changes are fairly regular within the Muṇḍā group. Thus initial *h-* of Muṇḍāri words often disappears in Santali and changes to *k-* in Kurku in the west; Muṇḍāri *hisi* 'twenty' > Santali *isi*; Muṇḍāri *hāto* 'village' > Santali *āto*. The cerebral *ng-* often becomes palatalized in Santali (*ñ-*); Kherwari *iṅg* (*eṅg*) 'I' > Santali *iñ* (*eñ*); Muṇḍā *siṅg* 'sun' > Santali *siñ*. Sonants are frequently changed to the corresponding surds in Santali; this is especially the case with initial *b-* which is changed to *p-* in Santali (*b-~p-*). Thus Muṇḍā *bakor*, *bokor* (Magy. *bokor* [!]) > Santali *pakor*. Final vowels are often lost in Santali; *kula* 'tiger' > Santali *kul*.

The so-called FU *Stufenwechsel* is also met with in Muṇḍā; thus from *sāp* :- 'to catch', we have *sāb-e-āe* 'he will catch him'; or from *oṛāk* :- 'house' we get *oṛāg-āe* 'he will build a house'. The vowels too undergo the same *Stufenwechsel* according as to

¹ J. Hoffmann, *Mundari Grammar* (Calcutta, 1903), p. 108: 'A man will use this [i.e. infixation] when speaking earnestly or anxiously... whereas in ordinary conversation he himself and others neglect it altogether'.

² J. Drake, *A Grammar of the Kurku Language* (Calcutta, 1913), p. 53.

whether the question is about something far or near. Consequently the number of vowels in Muṇḍā is comparatively large. For Santali Bodding so far has found twenty-six of which he shows only sixteen ¹; Hoffmann found only 10 vowels in Muṇḍāri; Drake mentions 20 vowels in Kurku, but shows only 14 in his texts; Ramamurti shows us 20 vowels in Savara. In Ost. Paasonen found 24 vowels; Patkanow and Fuchs ² give a list of 17 vowels to which we may add another two—their *ɪ* and *ʉ*—thus making 19 in all.

In the treatment of pronouns Santali lays great stress on the distinction between animate and inanimate. Animate are those which are or were capable of spontaneous movement or locomotion, such as all animals, as also the sun, moon, stars, and so on. In Santal conception such objects possess a 'soul', and therefore they are animate; on the other hand the 'soul' does not possess a 'soul', and hence it is inanimate.³ The same distinction is made in Magy. between *ki* and *mi*. In IA too a certain distinction is made; Eng. *who* and *what*, Fr. *qui* and *quoi*, Ger. *wer* and *was*, Beng. *ke* and *ki*, and so on. But whereas in IA languages we always have the same root, in FU and Muṇḍā we find two different roots *k-*(**k*_o-) and *m-*(**m*_o-). This distinction between the animate and the inanimate pervades through the whole of Santali pronouns and influences them to a very large degree.

In personal pronouns we see that Muṇḍā possesses two kinds of them: the forms used alone and those employed as suffixes. In order to express possession the following suffixes are used:

1 Pers.	- <i>ih</i> , - <i>ī</i> (in one case also - <i>ñ</i>) my, our
2 Pers.	- <i>m</i> , - <i>me</i> thy, your
3 Pers.	- <i>t</i> , - <i>tet</i> : his, her, their.

Thus from *əngā* 'mother' we get *əngā-t* 'his mother'; we have parallel forms in Ost. *xoDâ*. 'Haus' > *xoDâ-t* 'sein Haus', *ana* 'Mutter' > *ane-t* 'seine Mutter', or in Vog. *lo* [*sic.*] 'Pferd' > *lò-te* 'sein Pferd'.⁴ The -*ñ* of the Muṇḍā 1 Pers. may possibly correspond to the old Finn -*ni* in *lapse-ni* 'mein Kind, meine Kinder'.⁵ In the 2 Pers. we have no analogies with FU, although the 2 Pers.

¹ Bodding, *op. cit.*, i (Dumka, 1930), *passim*.

² S. Patkanow and D. R. Fuchs, *Laut- und Formenlehre der Süd-Ostjakischen Dialekte* (Budapest, 1911), p. 12 [Reprinted from *Keleti Szemle* (*Revue Orientale*), VII, X-XII].

³ I have dealt with Santal animism elsewhere (*Social and Ceremonial*, Repr., p. 13 sq.).

⁴ J. Szinnyei, *Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachwissenschaft*, 2te Aufl. (Berlin, 1922), pp. 101, 102 [Samml. Götschen, Nr. 463].

⁵ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

in Ost. is *non*, *nen* 'thou', and Vog. *nü* 'thou'¹; in Nāhali it is *ne* 'thou'.

Most Muṇḍā languages have only two numbers. Santali, however, has also a dual. The root of the word itself without any further ending is the nominative singular form; the dual is formed by adding *-kin*, and the plural by adding *-ko* to the root²; e.g. *hoṛ* person, *un-kin hoṛ* those two persons, *ona-ko dare* or *ona dare-ko* those trees. Ost. shows a similar dual form in *-gen*, *-ken*,³ as *xeide* 'Enkel' > *xeidegen*, *ñaurem* 'Kind' > *ñauremken*. On the other hand the plural termination corresponds almost entirely to Magy., e.g. *â kâlâp* > *â kâlâpok* 'hat', *hâz* > *hâz-âk* 'house', with the loss of the final *-o*. The formation of the plural with *-k* is also found in other FU languages,⁴ such as Kola Lapp (*-k*, *-kk*), Norw. Lapp (*-k*); thus Kola Lapp *ta-* (*tâ-*) 'this' > *ta-k* (*tâ-k*, *ta-kk*) 'these', *mi* ($\sqrt{mo-mę-}$) 'which' > *mo-k*, *mę-kk*; Norw. Lapp. *gēēta* 'hand' > *gēēsack* 'hands'. Hoffmann⁵ says of the Muṇḍāri language that the sound of the final *-o* is very short. The same ending *-ko* as in Muṇḍā is met with in ancient Magy. linguistic texts, where we find *āngyâl-ko* as the plural of *āngyâl*.

Another FU plural ending is *-t* (in Ostsee Finn *-t*, *-D*, *-d*, etc.)⁶; thus we have in Finn *hevose-* 'Pferd', *hevose-t* 'die Pferde', *hevos-te-n* 'of the horses', *lapse* 'child', *lapse-t* 'children', *la(p)s-te-n* 'of the children'; or in Vog. *lū* 'horse', *lu-t* 'horses', Mord. *tolga* 'feather', *tolgat* 'feathers', *þe* 'end', *þet* 'ends'. This plural *t*-ending is to be met with in Nāhali, as *aba* 'father', *aba-ta* 'fathers'; here, however, the denti-palatal *-t* appears as a cerebral *-ṭ*. In Ost. too, we are told,⁷ that the regular plural ending is *-t*: *āmp* 'dog' forms its plural in *āmpet*.

In the formation of the different cases we find analogies between the languages under consideration. One of the locative case endings in Muṇḍā is *-te* (*-ta*),⁸ as in *on-te* 'there', *in-te* 'here' (from the demonstrative pronouns *on*, *in*), *pah* 'side', *pah-ta* 'at the side'. This seems to correspond to the FU *-t*, as in Ost. *to-t* 'there' (from *to*), Vog. *teüt-ta* 'in the fire' (from *teüt* 'fire'), Magy. *vāsār-t* (from *vásár*). Another locative suffix which is identical in both groups

¹ Cf. Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

² Bodding, *op. cit.*, p. 36, § 26.

³ Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 51, § 36. For dual in other FU languages, see Karl Bouda, 'Der Dual des Obugrischen, mit einem Exkurs über die Suffix-lockerheit', *Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seuran Aikakauskirja* [Jour. Soc. Finno-Ougr.], xlviii (Helsingfors, 1933), pp. 1-67.

⁴ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁵ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁶ Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 74.

⁷ Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁸ Patkanow-Fuchs, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

is *-n*. Thus in Kurku we have *gaw* 'a village' (IA), *gaw-en* 'in the village', Santali *onde* 'there', *onde-n* 'of (belonging to) there', *k'it* 'garden', *k'it-in* 'in the garden'. Similar forms are seen in Ost. *kim* 'äusserlich', *kim-en* 'draussen', or in Magy. *gāzdāg* > *gāzdāg-on* (adv.). With regard to the first of these forms, *-t*, *-te*, *-ta*, it may be noted that Bengali, an IA language derived from Sanskrit, uses the ending *-te* to form the locative, although it is unknown to the parent tongue.¹ Bodding thought² that this locative in *-t* was borrowed from Bengali, but Hevesy believes it to be of FU origin and states³ that Balassa-Simonyi, while admitting *-t* to be a very ancient Magy. suffix, are yet at a loss to ascribe an origin to it.

The accusative case in Kharia is formed with the suffix *-t*; from *bač'ru* 'calf', acc. *bač'ru-te*, from *konger* 'servant', acc. *konger-te*. This *-t* ending is too well known in FU to need any further comment.

In the conjugation of verbs we meet with remarkable similarities. Szinnyei has pointed out⁴ that the FU preterite form in **-ś~*ž* is found in all languages except Magy.; thus in Mord. *kulo-* 'sterben', *kuloš* 'er starb', Cher. *el-* 'leben', *elšə-m* 'ich lebte', Ost. *mən-* 'gehen', *mənsə-m* 'ich ging', Vog. *äl-* 'töten', *äl-s* 'er tötete', *älsə-m* 'ich tötete', and so on. An identical ending is encountered in Korwa; *melai* 'to forsake', *melai-si* 'forsook', *sid-* 'to lose', *sidsiki* (*sid+si+ki*) 'had been lost'. The conditional in Santali appears to be formed with the FU **n+*k*.⁵ Just as in Ost. we have *mənāne-m* 'I would go' from *mən-*, so in Santali we have *ruār-enge* 'I would return' from *ruār-*. In this connection it should be noted that in Hindustani—a language IA in structure but Semitic in its vocabulary—the 1 Pers. Pl. Fut. is formed with *-en-ge*, and in the Santali examples given by Bodding,⁶ *-enge* seems to have a future meaning as well. But when we consider that in Hindustani the future is formed from the aorist (a dubious tense) by adding *-gā*, *-ge*, *gī*, the conditional meaning becomes quite clear.

¹ The *-e* of the Beng. loc. is in accordance with Sanskrit; and the infixed *-t* has often been explained on rationalistic grounds. It is said to be inserted for the sake of euphony (as in Fr. *on va, va-t-on*; *il a, a-t-il*), but numerous examples may be given where the vowel *-e* comes immediately after another vowel thus causing a decided hiatus. Further the *-te* is also used with words ending in a consonant, thus *gāch-te* instead of *gāch-e*.

² Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 74. note *.

³ Hevesy, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁴ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 123 sq.

⁵ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁶ Bodding, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 255.

More remarkable still is the distinction made in both Muṇḍā and FU in the conjugation of verbs with objects and without objects. In the perfect tense of a Magy. verb with object we see that the *-j-* is missing and a *-t-* (*-tt-*) appears : *vār-tām*, *vār-tād*, *var-tā*, *vār-tuk*, *vār-tātok*, *vār-tāk*. It is true that in Santali the perfect suffix is *-ked*, *-ket* : , but in Muṇḍāri it is *-tad*, *tet* : , and in Korwa *-ted*, *ted* (*-ter*).

Many other morphological similarities between the two linguistic groups can very easily be mentioned ; but as a detailed discussion would far exceed the limits of a paper in an ordinary journal, we shall merely point out a few pertinent points. Postpositions, instead of prepositions, are used in both ; but whereas in Finn they are used with the genitive case, in Magy., Vog. and Muṇḍā they are affixed to the simple root. In the formation of causatives there were originally but two FU suffixes,¹ *-t* and *-l* (**-l*). Both of these are found in Santali. Many of the emphatic particles used in Muṇḍā are the same as in Magy. : *-tet* (Magy. *-tt*), *-se* (Magy. *-sze*), etc.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the science of linguistics of today is built up on ethnology. We may no longer regard ethnology and linguistics as two distinct sciences, but we must consider them as component parts of one and the same science, interdependent on each other. As Meillet² said : '*Les changements linguistiques ne prennent leur sens que si l'on considère tout l'ensemble du développement dont ils font partie*'. Proper linguistics can exist only when we know the whole history of the people speaking that language. The history of the Muṇḍā people is as yet largely a matter of conjecture. But from what we know already it is an undisputed fact that in the later neolithic period—about 2000 B.C.—there was a strong culture wave from Further India into the region now occupied by the Muṇḍā peoples.³ Racially the Muṇḍās may be regarded as a mixture of three different elements, although the mixture is not the same in every tribe.⁴ Of the Birhors who are still living in a hunting stage it may be asserted that they were certainly not originally a Muṇḍā people, but are remnants of the original inhabitants of India.⁵ This hypothesis regarding the connection between Further India and India is also borne out by the somatological

¹ Szinnyei, *op. cit.*, p. 110 sq.

² A. Meillet, *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* (Paris, 1926), p. 11 [Coll. Ling. VIII].

³ R. von Heine-Geldern, 'Ungarn und Indien', *Pester Lloyd*, 27. VI. 1935, pp. 1, 2.

⁴ Heine-Geldern, 'Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie des Neolithikums in Südostasien', *Festschrift P. W. Schmidt* (Vienna, 1928), p. 822.

⁵ Heine-Geldern, *loc. cit.*

researches of Eickstedt and by the linguistic researches of Pater Schmidt. On the other hand the connection of the Muṇḍā peoples with those of the west is shown by the relatively important position held by the horse in death ceremonies. Little clay horse figures are supplied to the dead with the avowed purpose of carrying them in the spirit world—and this among peoples many of whom have never seen a horse. The custom can easily be explained by the supposition that a horse-riding people came to India at some past time and, in course of time, became thoroughly assimilated with the native population.¹ We know already that the Finno-Ugrian peoples, the proto-Ugrians, were such a people, and it is almost certain that these proto-Ugrians came into direct contact with the proto-Aryans,² we may therefore consider these horse-riding people to have been the proto-Ugrians. In a very recent study, a preliminary one, on the original home of the Indo-Aryans, Flor, commenting on this fact, writes: 'It is surely to be conjectured that this undoubtedly pre-Aryan Indian horse-culture is attributable to an Ugrian invasion',³ and the present writer has no hesitation in agreeing with him.

The Muṇḍā traditions, according to Skrefsrud,⁴ say that they were originally from Hihiri-pipiri (Hiri). From this place they went to Sasanbēḍa, and thence to Khojkaman. At this last place they were destroyed by flood; only a few of them remained. After the flood had subsided the Santals migrated in an eastward direction to Khande (Afghanistan?), and from Khande northeastwards to Chae (Chinese Tartary?), and then southeastwards to Sapta-Sing (the Panjab?); and finally to the Santal Parganas where they now are. Where all these different places may be we are not in a position to say, but they show that the direction of the migration has always been *towards the east*. Traditions of course, have little historical value, except perhaps as a distorted version of an historical fact. We cannot take traditions as history, but they help in reconstructing history.

Similarities are also found in other domains. In the ornamentation of Transylvanian doors, among the Széklers (Magyars), we find exactly the same designs as we find in the rock temples of Ajanta and other places.⁵ Huszka has already shown that one of the

¹ Heine-Geldern, in *Pester Lloyd*, 27. VI. 1935, p. 2.

² F. Flor, 'Haustiere und Hirtenkulturen', *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, i (Vienna, 1930), pp. 1-238.

³ Flor, 'Die Indogermanenfrage in der Völkerkunde', *Festschrift Herman Hirt*, i (Heidelberg, 1936), p. 92.

⁴ L. O. Skrefsrud, *A Grammar of the Santhal Language* (Benares, 1873), p. v sqq.

⁵ Cf. Huszka József, *A Székely ház* (Budapest, 1894), Fig. X.

characteristically Magyar articles of clothing, the *szür* (a kind of skirt), is depicted on ancient Indian coins.¹ One of the most important of Magyar designs is the lotus flower. And as a connecting link we may mention that under the auspices of the Azerbaidzhan Academy of Sciences, Alisker Alekperov 'is preparing a report on the tribal marks of Caucasus, which are said to resemble Magyar religious symbols'.²

Moreover Hevesy³ mentions many other similarities between the beliefs and customs of the Muṇḍā and the FU peoples. Thus, he says, that ophiolatry is known among both of them; there are stories about snake kings, and in the Körnöce district people believe that a white snake dwells in every house and watches over it as a guardian. The Voguls have pillars or posts which they revere as gods, and the worship itself is said to be developed from their ancestor worship and eschatological rites. The menhirs of the Muṇḍās owe their origin to the same (citing Heine-Geldern, in *Anthropos*, xxiii. 276). The sacrifice of a white horse, we are told, was known among the ancient Magyars, and this was also a 'national habit' of the Muṇḍās. According to Vogul mythology mankind is derived from a swan, and the Muṇḍās believe man to have been born out of a swan's egg.

In conclusion the author wishes to express his conviction that Muṇḍā languages belong to the same family as the FU. There are too many morphological similarities to be relegated to mere chance. Such being the case it is time for Hungarian and Finn scholars to take up the study of Muṇḍā languages in earnest, and for scholars in the field of Indian linguistics to take up Finno-Ugrian studies. To show that the present author is not the only one to accept Hevesy's conclusions it may be mentioned that Profs. Validî, Flor and Schrader all agree that Hevesy has proved the genetic relationship between Muṇḍā and FU beyond any reasonable doubt.⁴ And Pater Schmidt too partly agrees when in his latest work he writes: '*Auf eine austroasiatische Grundlage der Mundasprachen haben zu einer gewissen Zeit und in einer gewissen Gegend ugrofinnische Sprachen einen Ein-*

¹ Huszka, *Tárgyi ethnographiánk östörténeti vonatkozásai* (Budapest, 1898), p. 27, cited by Hevesy, *Finnisch-Ugrisches*, p. 367.

² Henry Field and Eugene Prostov, 'Recent Archaeological Investigations in the Soviet Union', *American Anthropologist*, new ser., xxxviii (Menasha, Wis., 1936), p. 272.

³ Hevesy, *op. cit.*, pp. 369 sqq.

⁴ A. Z. Validî, in *Türkische Post*, 27th February 1935, X, pp. 48-49; F. Flor, in *Festschrift Herman Hirt*, i. 92; F. O. Schrader, in *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1935, col. 637f.

fluss ausgeübt; der noch zu bestimmen sein wird, der aber ohne Zweifel ausserhalb Indiens wirksam war'.¹

It is to be hoped that scholars and field workers in India will earnestly take up the study of Muṇḍā languages and ethnology, for our problem can be solved only when we have sufficient material.

¹ W. Schmidt, 'Die Stellung der Munda-Sprachen', *Bull. School Or. Stud.*, vii (London, 1935), p. 734.

THE THEOLOGY AND PHILOSOPHY OF BENGAL VAIṢṆAVISM

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THE BHAKTI-SAMDARBHA

By S. K. DE

The object of this Samdarbha is to show that Bhakti to the Bhagavat is the only and chief import or subject-matter (*abhidheya*) of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, as necessarily it is of the *Ṣaṭ-samdarbha*; and the Samdarbha deals with the general characteristics of the devotional attitude of Bhakti and the modes and functions of this attitude.

It has already been said that the Jīvas can be broadly classified from the standpoint of their attitude towards the Bhagavat into two categories, viz. : (i) those who through the grace of the deity possess, as an intrinsic attribute, an inevitable proneness (*saṃskāra*) towards the Bhagavat, and for whom there is no need for instruction, e.g. a Bhakta like Prahlāda, and (ii) those who under the influence of the Māyā-śakti have this proneness obstructed, although it is liable to sprout in them like a seed on instruction (*tac-chravaṇa-mātreṇa bijāyamānam*). The Abhidheya, therefore, is conversion towards the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-sāmmukhya*) by counteracting the imposed aversion (*tad-vaimukhya*). This is Bhakti, of which the general characteristic is devotional worship of the Bhagavat (*tad-upāsānā-lakṣaṇa*), and from it proceeds the true knowledge of the Bhagavat (*yata eva taj-jñānam āvirbhavati*). It has already been shown that this averseness towards the Bhagavat proceeds from the Māyā-śakti, by which the Jīva forgets its own selfhood and identifies itself with the body (*īśvara-vimukhasya tan-māyayāsmṛtiḥ, svarūpā-sphūrtir bhavati, tato viparyayo deho'smṛti*). This external Māyā-śakti of the Lord can be counteracted only by the special aspect of the Lord's Svarūpa-śakti, viz., his Hlādinī Śakti or energy of bliss. This bliss, of which an atom also exists in a dormant state in the Jīva, can be released as Bhakti, which itself is thus a display of the divine Svarūpa-śakti.¹

¹ Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa discusses this question of the nature of Bhakti in his *Siddhānta-ratna* (p. 35) and arrives at the conclusion that it consists of the combined essence of the two aspects of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat, viz., the

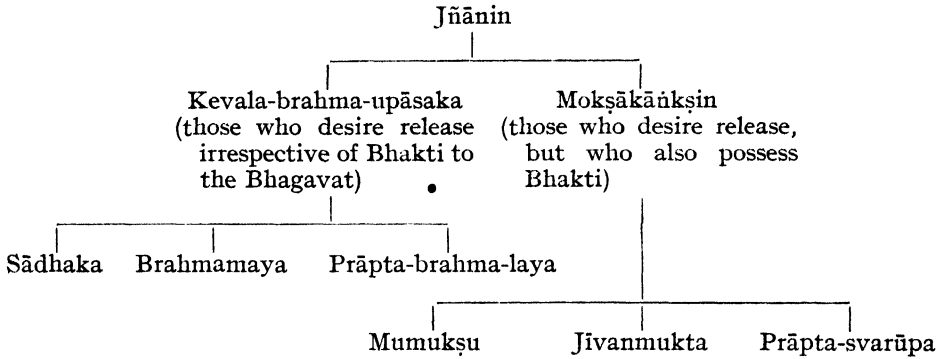
The necessity of devotional worship lies in the fact that it is a natural function of the Jīva considered as a potency of the Bhagavat (*sva-citte svata eva siddhah*) ; for the service of one who is dear brings happiness, and nothing is dearer than the Bhagavat. The Bhajana or worship is, therefore, necessary, because it brings the highest and permanent bliss which is inherent in the Jīva. It would, therefore, be insufficient to describe Bhakti as a means only ; for being the natural function of the Jīva (*jīvānām svabhāvata ucitā*) it is its highest attribute (*para dharma*). The consummation of this Dharma consists in the supreme pleasure of the deity (*svanuṣṭhitasya dharmasya saṁsiddhir hari-toṣanam*). It is thus free from Pravṛtti or activity in worldly affairs, but it is also not mere Nivṛtti or abstention from phenomenal objects ; for Nivṛtti or Quietism can hardly be distinguished from Vaimukhya or averseness (*na nivṛtti-mātralakṣaṇo'pi, vaimukhyāviśeṣāt*). This is the *summum bonum* (*sa evaikāntikaṁ śreyah*), and therefore surpasses other Dharmas, which are called *apara* and not *para*. Its characteristics are that (i) it is Ahaitukī or Akiñcanā, i.e., it is not prompted by the desire of any other effect (*phalāntarānām anusandhāna-rahitā*), either in this world or in the next, than the pleasure of the Lord, and (ii) Apratihata, i.e. unimpeded, because it is beyond the sphere of other objects like pleasure or pain (*sukha-duḥkha-padārthāntarābhāvāt kenāpi vyavadhātum āsakyā*).

This thesis is further elaborated by showing the efficacy and superiority of Bhakti over every other mode of worship. The way of knowledge or Jñāna leads to a realization of the Brahma ; the Yoga with its practices is also helpful for that purpose ; the way of works or Karma, consisting of obedience to scriptural directions and of dedication of all fruits to the Bhagavat, is also productive of a proneness towards the supreme deity. In all these modes there is an element of Bhakti in so far as they are free from any desire of worldly objects and lead to the Bhagavat by producing an inclination towards him ; but none of them is entirely disinterested. They are therefore inferior to Kevalā or exclusive Bhakti, the one object of which is not to gain anything for oneself but to contribute to the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. True Mokṣa or Apavarga does not consist, as the Jñānin thinks, of the knowledge of Brahma, nor again in the conception of the Virāj or Viśvarūpa as realized by

Hlādinī and the Saṁvit : *atra punaś cintyate—bhagavad-vāśīkāra-hetubhūtā śaktiḥ kīṁsvarūpā iti, kiṁ prākṛta-sattvamaya-jñānānanda-rūpā, kiṁ vā bhagavat-svarūpā-jñānānanda-rūpā, aha vā jaiva-jñānānanda-rūpā, uta hlādinī-sāra-samaveta-saṁvit-sāra-rūpā iti ; nādyah, bhagavato māyā-vaśyatvāśraṇāt svataḥ pūrṇatvā ca ; na dvitīyah, atīśayāsiddheḥ ; nāpi tritīyah, jaiwayos tayoh kṣodīṣṭhatvāt ; kiṁ tu caturtha evāsau bhavet tathā ca hlāda-saṁvidoh samvetayoh sāro bhaktir iti siddhyati.*

the Yogin ; it consists in a direct vision (*sākṣātkāra*) or attainment (*prāpti*) of the deity in his highest appearance as the Bhagavat, which is attainable by Bhakti alone. The one highest Reality, which is the Bhagavat, appears, no doubt, in threefold way, but Jñāna and Yoga can have a glimpse of one or other of the partial aspects ; to Bhakti alone is accessible the one highest Reality which appears in these various aspects (*tac ca tridhāvirohāva-yuktaṁ tattvaṁ bhaktyaiva sākṣād api kriyate*).

This idea is further amplified by a consideration of the various classes of the Jñānin and Yogin. In this connexion it would be useful to refer here to the classification of the Jñānin given by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya, xxiv), a classification which is implied by Jīva Gosvāmin also in his treatment :



The release which all these classes of seekers desire is the realization of the knowledge of self and its identity or merging in Brahma as the absolute self ; and the classification only indicates the different aspects or stages of the release. The Kevala Upāsaka, who meditates upon Brahma independently of Bhakti, realizes Brahma in the *nirviśeṣa* state by his meditative knowledge ; and this consists of a state of absorption or merger of the Jīva in the impersonal and attributeless Brahma. But this state can be attained after a good deal of effort (*kṛcchra-sādhana*), and the attainment of Brahma, who represents only a lower manifestation of the most perfect Bhagavat, indicates only a lower stage of realization, which consists of absorption or extinction. This stage, however, does not last permanently and leads to fresh trouble. The other class of the Jñānin who desire release but also possess Bhakti stands on a different footing. Their Bhakti ultimately leads them to the close proximity of the Bhagavat, so that it is their pure Bhakti which prevails in the end and brings to them the highest realization. Thus, the Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti may lead to the Śuddhā Bhakti, but it is not

necessary to resort to the former when the latter alone is efficacious. If there is Bhakti, the Jñāna will come of itself, for by realizing the Bhagavat by Bhakti one necessarily realizes along with him his partial aspect of Brahma, who is realizable by Jñāna. Hence, Jñāna and Vairāgya are said to be the offspring or concomitant of Bhakti, for the true Jñāna is Bhagavaj-jñāna which is synonymous with Bhakti. It follows that the way of Bhakti is not only superior to that of Jñāna, but it also dispenses with the necessity of Jñāna as an independent way. Those who aspire after Jñāna, and not after Bhakti, are like those foolish people who run after the chaff instead of the real grain. It is for this reason that Bhakti must be regarded as superior to mere Mukti or Mokṣa, and even emancipated souls (Mukta) are represented in the scriptures as not fully satisfied with their state of emancipation but they engage themselves in the worship of the Bhagavat.¹ Thus, the Vaiṣṇava theology of Bengal does not altogether reject the way of Jñāna, as it does not altogether reject Brahma, but regards it as an insufficient method, just in the same way as it accepts Brahma as an imperfect appearance (*asamyag-āvirbhāva*) of the Bhagavat. Even Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti is deprecated in favour of Śuddhā Bhakti. The true release, in the opinion of this school, is not the attainment of Brahma by Jñāna but the eternal contiguity and devotional service of the Bhagavat by Bhakti.

Similar arguments are employed to show the inferiority of Yoga as a method of realization. The *citta-vṛtti-nirodha* which Yoga teaches is also the direct result of Bhakti; so also is Vairāgya or non-attachment to worldly objects, which follows (*anugāmi*) Bhakti as a matter of course. Through the influence of the Māyā-śakti the individual self (Jīva) forgets its true nature and becomes distracted by the phenomenal world, with the result that it loses its tranquil state. The eight ancillaries (*aṣṭāṅga*) of Yoga teach the suppression of these distractions of the thinking principle and divert it from the phenomenal ego, leading it ultimately to the state of Asamprajñāta-Samādhi, in which the individual self in its purity and freedom from the Māyā-śakti realizes, not its complete identity with Brahma, but its intrinsic nature as an atom of divine consciousness (*cit-kaṇā*). Thus, the Yoga leads to a higher stage of realization than that attainable by Jñāna, for it goes beyond the stage of attainment of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma to the realization of the

¹ The etymology of the word Kaivalya is sometimes given, from this point of view, as *ka* (bliss) + $\sqrt{\text{val}}$ (to revel), so that the word is made to mean not the knowledge of oneness (*kevala*), but a state of bliss consequent upon the release of the Jīva from the Māyā-śakti and its contiguity to the Bhagavat.

more Saviśeṣa Paramātman, and ultimately (if the Yogin possesses Bhakti) to the fully Saviśeṣa Bhagavat. Hence, the Yoga is called Śānta-Bhakti by the Bengal school and is regarded as a variety, even if it is an inferior variety, of Bhakti. But the Śuddhā Bhakti, which conceives the supreme deity as the perfect person in terms of emotional personal relationship (such as Dāśya, Sakhya, Vātsalya or Mādhurya), is regarded as more efficacious. Moreover, from what is said above it follows that all the good results of the Yoga-Mārga accrue as a concomitant consequence of Bhakti.

The reconciliation of Karma and Bhakti is effected after the manner of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but the ideas are further developed from the point of view of Bhakti. The ceremonial duties are not rejected, but a secondary importance is attached to them as a means to an end ; for on the attainment of Bhakti, the way of Karma is superfluous (*karmāpi bhakti-yoga-paryantam*, also *bhakti-yārambha eva tu svarūpata eva karma-tyāgaḥ kartavyaḥ*). The Karma-Mārga lays down injunctions regarding the performance of ceremonial duties, but these appear to lead only to enjoyment in the world and attainment of the insignificant pleasures of Svarga. The observance of the Varṇāśrama-dharma, however, involves much effort and expenditure of money (*mahāvitta-mahāyāsa-sādhyā*), and brings only fame or prosperity in this world or in Svarga ; it does not seem to lead one to final Puruṣārtha or *summum bonum*. The real objective, however, of these Vedic injunctions is not to produce an attachment to worldly objects but to enable the doer ultimately to forsake them (*vedo'pyavāntara-phalaih pralobhayan moksāyaiva karmāṇi vidhatte*). Hence, these ceremonial rites are called *parokṣa-kriyā*, and the Karma-vāda is known as Parokṣa-vāda. The final object of Karma is to lead to Naiṣkarmya ; and it occurs when the motive of performance is not the desire of worldly or other limited effects but consists of entire dedication of these acts to the pleasure of the Bhagavat. This can be done, as the *Gītā* teaches, by performing one's duties without attachment (*anāsakti*) and desire of fruits (*phala-tyāgaḥ*). But even such dedication is useless unless it is accompanied by Bhakti, which alone sanctifies all acts. The release in this mode, however, comes slowly after a great deal of effort ; and the state of Naiṣkarmya or Quietism which is accomplished is in reality another name for complete cessation of all acts. The mode of pure Bhakti, on the other hand, brings about the highest good much more quickly. Even if Bhakti effects a renunciation of ceremonial acts which become unnecessary on its attainment, it does not mean complete inactivity ; for the acts of devotion, which alone are the supreme kinds of acts, continue to exist, whereby the highest bliss is accomplished. The acts implied in Bhakti are other than those described in the Karma-

kāṇḍa as Nitya (compulsory), Naimittika (occasional) and Kāmya (voluntary), which are meant for the securing of some definite object ; they consist of such acts as Śravaṇa (listening to the deity's praise), Kīrtana (uttering of the deity's name and praise) etc., by which the supreme deity is worshipped and which are meant only for the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-prīṇana*) and are therefore entirely disinterested (*ahaituka* or *akiñcana*). If Karma is not productive of Bhakti it is useless, just in the same way as Jñāna is useless if it does not lead to the Bhagavat ; Karma is useful in so far as it is a step to the higher end of Bhagavad-bhakti. Those Vedic injunctions, therefore, which do not contain any reference to the Līlā of the Bhagavat are to be rejected (*madīya-līlā-sūnyāṃ vaidikīm api vācam nābhyasyet*).

It follows from what is said above that Bhakti may be either Sakāmā (accompanied by the desire for fruits) or Niṣkāma-karma-sahitā (accompanied by acts free from such desire). The dedication of Karma (*karmārpaṇa*) implied in the second case may again be of two kinds, viz., mere abandonment or renunciation of acts to the Bhagavat (*tasmimstat-parityāga-rūpam*), and contributing to the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*bhagavat-prīṇana-rūpam*). The Nimitta or occasion of the dedication of Karma may be the desire for fruits (Kāmanā), or the cessation from acts consisting of desireless action (Naiṣkarmya), or pure Bhakti when such acts are meant solely for the pleasure of the deity. Niṣkāmatva or desirelessness by itself is not possible (*niṣkāmatvaṃ kevalaṃ na sambhavati*) ; hence Bhakti which is mixed with mundane acts (Karma-miśrā Bhakti) may be either accompanied by some specific desire for mundane fruits of action (Sakāmā) or it may be accompanied by the desire for emancipation (Kaivalya-kāmā). Of these, however, the latter is sometimes mixed with Karma and Jñāna and sometimes with Jñāna alone, the term Jñāna in this case, of course, meaning perception of complete identity of the Jīva and Brahma (*ekātmadarśana*). The Sakāmā may be Rājasī or prompted by a desire for activity, but it may also be Tāmasī when it is actuated by such baser passions as envy, pride, etc. All these differences of types of Bhakti depend upon the capacity or inclination of the worshipper. But Śuddhā or pure Bhakti, in which alone lies the divine pleasure (*bhaktau punaḥ prīṇanam eva*), is the best mode of attaining the highest good.

Thus having spoken of Jñāna and Yoga as the means of Sadyo-mukti and Krama-mukti respectively, and having shown that the way of Karma, which is dedicated to the Bhagavat, is even a greater means of Bhakti than these two which have a limited objective, Jīva Gosvāmin thinks that the supreme necessity of Bhakti follows as a corollary and does not require proof (*sadyo-mukti-krama-muktyu-*

pāyena jñāna-yogāvuktṛvā, tato'pi śreṣṭhatvaṃ bhaktiyoga-hētu-bhāgavaad-arpita-karmaṇa evoktṛvā sāksād bhakti-yogasya kaimuṭyam evānītam). All these are means of avoiding Vaimukhya or averseness to the Bhagavat and producing Sāmmukhya or proneness; but Jñāna and Yoga lead only to the Brahma and the Paramātman respectively, who are but partial aspects of the Bhagavat. The Karma directed to the Bhagavat, again, is only a door to all these. These different ways are prescribed to suit the capacity of different kinds of people (*puruṣa-yogyatā-bhēdena*), and each has its use. But when Bhakti is attained, all these are redundant. The attitude of Bhakti is independent or *nirapekṣa*, and can arise spontaneously; but Jñāna, Yoga, Karma and Vairāgya depend for their efficacy upon Bhakti itself (*tat-sāpekṣa*), for none of them alone can lead to the final bliss (*Bhāgavata* ix, 14, 20). Hence, Bhakti occupies the highest place in the order of realization; as a means it supersedes and includes all the others; but it is not a means only, but an end in itself natural to the Jīva. It follows from all this that the Jñāna-miśrā, Yoga-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti may exist or may be expedient at a lower stage of realization, but pure or Śuddhā Bhakti is the best of all, because it purges the mind of all grossness, removes the fetters of the Māyā-śakti and makes it fit for the Sākṣātkāra or direct vision of the Bhagavat. People have spoken of the excellence of the ways of Jñāna, Yoga and Karma, but, according to the *Bhāgavata* (xi, 14, 9), they have done so because their intelligence are obscured by the influence of the Māyā-śakti.

As an aspect of Karma, the worship of deities other than the Bhagavat is forbidden (*karma-viśeṣa-rūpaṃ devatāntara-bhājanam api na kartavyam*). Even the Guṇāvatāras, namely, Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu, are not worthy of the highest worship. The attitude of equal adoration to all deities (*abheda-dṛṣṭi*), spoken of in some scriptures, is for the Śama-bhakta (i.e. the Yogin) and the Jñānin, but it is not a help but a hinderance to the Bhakta Vaiṣṇava (*vaiṣṇavasya na bhakti-lābhah, pratyavāyaś ca*). Although the attitude of contempt or indifference to other deities and supernatural beings is deprecated, it is maintained that deities like Śiva or Brahmā can be worshipped in so far as they are themselves Vaiṣṇavas or worshippers of the Bhagavat, or in so far as they are particular locations (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the Bhagavat himself. In the Āgamas, for instance, the worship of other gods is permitted as the Bahiraṅgāvaraṇa Sevakas of the Lord, and this is acknowledged in the *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, vii, 119-20. But for those who regard them as separate and independent objects of worship there is the terrible curse of Bhṛṅgu Muni referred to in the *Bhāgavata*, iv, 2, 27-28. All worship, however, is futile without kindness to all beings (*bhūta-dayā*) and

tolerance of other gods (*sama-dṛṣṭi*) ; but this attitude, as well as *Ahimsā*, is natural (*svabhāva eva*) to one who has Bhakti. In some cases, however, *Himsā* or injury is permissible, e.g., in plucking flowers and leaves for purposes of worship.

In order to establish further his position regarding Bhakti, Jīva Gosvāmin now proceeds to demonstrate that Bhakti is the central and only theme of the *Bhāgavata*, and that it is inculcated for all times, all places, all beings and all conditions. It is intended alike for those who are desirous of release and for those who have attained release. Even if some scriptures prescribe Jñāna-miśrā and Karma-miśrā Bhakti, it is not to emphasize the importance of Jñāna or Karma but to make those who follow the ways of Jñāna and Karma inclined towards pure Bhakti by having a foretaste of its bliss (*tat-tan-mārga-niṣṭhān bhakti-sambandhena kṛtārthayitum tān eva kāmścid bhaktyāsvādena sūddhāyām bhaktau pravartayitum ca*). The supreme efficacy of Bhakti is next shown by the illustration, drawn chiefly from the *Bhāgavata*, of its characteristics and the results that follow from it as a matter of course. These are : (i) *aprārabdha-pāpa-hāritva* and *prārabdha-pāpaghñatva* (power of counteracting sinful acts whether they have begun to produce effects or not), (ii) *tad-vāsanā-hāritva* (power of removing the instinct for sinful acts), (iii) *avidyā-hāritva* (power of removal of Avidyā or Nescience), (iv) *jñāna-vairāgyādi-sarva-hetutva* (causation of all merit like Jñāna and Vairāgya), (v) *nirguṇatva* (the state of being beyond the sphere of the three Guṇas, for Jñāna and Karma are Sa-guṇa and Bhakti alone is Nirguṇa), (vi) *parama-sukha-rūpatva* (its identity with the supreme bliss), (vii) *bhagavat-svarūpaśakti-bodhaka-svayam prakāśatva* (its self-manifestation, producing the consciousness of the Svarūpa-śakti of the Bhagavat), (viii) *bhagavad-viśaya-rati-pradatva* (its bestowal of attachment towards the Bhagavat), and (ix) *bhakta-viśayaka-bhagavat-prītyaika-hetutva* (its power of producing the exclusive pleasure of the Bhagavat towards the Bhakta). In this connexion the significance of divine grace is discussed. The question is considered as to how it is possible that the perfect being whose intrinsic attribute is self-sufficient bliss, who has no desire nor motive, and who is unaffected by Prakṛti, should feel kindness or grace towards phenomenal beings. In reply it is said that the intrinsic attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti of the Bhagavat is such that it gladdens both himself and others (*sva-parānandinī*), like the function of the lamp which reveals itself as well as other objects. As such, the question of motive or desire does not arise. The Hlādinī Śakti, eternally placed in those who are his own (*sva-vṛnde nīkṣiptam*), causes spontaneous bliss both to himself and his Bhakta. Thus the cause of grace or divine self-surrender is the goodness of

the Bhakti of the devotee himself, as an aspect of the infinite Svarūpa-śakti of the Lord.

The grace cannot in all cases operate directly ; for the Lord cannot, unlike the Jīva, feel the natural disturbance of kindness and sorrow which is the result of the Tamo-guṇa ; it therefore operates through the medium of saintly persons who are free from the effects of Prakṛti and are therefore direct receptacles of divine grace (*vā kṛpā tasya satsu varitate sā sat-saṅgenaiva sat-kṛpā-vāhanenaiva vā jīvāntare saṁkramate, na svatantrā*). It is true that the saints and sages are also not touched by the sorrows of the world, and kindness or pity is thus out of place in them ; but the memory of their previous sorrows, like those of a person awakened from dreams, makes them feel compassion for the miseries of other beings. The first cause of Bhakti, no doubt, is the grace of the Lord (*bhagavat-kṛpāiva tāt-sāmmukhye prāthamikaṁ kāraṇam*), but the association with saints and devotees is the most important medium through which this divine grace is communicated.

The saints and devotees are classified into two types, viz. : (i) those who follow the way of Jñāna and devote themselves to the Nirviśeṣa Brahma (*jñāna-mārge brahmānubhaviṇaḥ*), and (ii) those who follow the way of Bhakti and possess the love of the Bhagavat (*bhakti-mārge labdha-bhagavat-premāṇaḥ*). They are respectively called the Jñāni-siddha and the Bhakta-siddha ; but of these the latter are to be preferred. A realization of the deity is indeed the highest goal, but there are degrees of realization according to the degree of perception of the divine love ; and the Bhagavat-preman is the chief criterion which differentiates the types of devotees (*sākṣātkāra-mātrasyāpi yadyapi puruṣa-prayojanatvam, tathāpi tasminn api sākṣātkāre śrī-bhagavataḥ prīyatva-dharmānubhavas tāvāṁ-stāvān utkarṣaḥ tataḥ prema-tāratamyenaiva bhakta-tāratamyam mukhyam*). Of the various kinds of Bhakta-siddhas, again, those who by means of their devotion have been included in the class of the eternal associates of the Bhagavat cannot be expected, like the deity himself, to be in direct touch with phenomenal beings in the matter of conveying divine grace. But there are other Bhakta-siddhas, who are Bhāgavata saints and sages and who can act as a medium of the grace and generate Bhakti in the individual. There are various kinds of such saints, but Bhakti is roused from their contact with such quickness and in such special form as is proportionate to the degree of the power and the feeling of compassion of the particular saint or sage from whom the inspiration is derived (*teṣāṁ bahu-bhedeṣu satsu, teṣāṁ eva prabhāva-tāratamyena kṛpā-tāratamyena bhakti-vāsanā-bheda-tāratamyena sat-saṅgāt kālā-saighrya-svarūpa-vaiśiṣṭyābhyāṁ bhaktir udyate*). This leads us to the theory

of the necessity of a spiritual guide or Guru, a theory which plays an important part in all types of Bhakti religion. The justification of this Guru-vāda lies in the fact that the spiritual guide is supposed to be one who has actually traversed the narrow and strait path and attained spiritual illumination, and that the contact and influence of such an experienced person should be of immense benefit to the beginner in the attainment of spiritual truth. From this association with saintly persons (Sādhu-saṅga) arises, first of all, Ruci or relish in the object of worship and in the ways of worship ; and this produces Śraddhā or belief as a preliminary stage to Bhakti. It is therefore laid down that from such saintly people, either collectively or individually, one should listen to the exposition of spiritual truth by making one or all of them his Guru (*teṣvekatō'nekato vā śrī-gurutvenāśritāc chravaṇam kriyate*). This is the Śravaṇa-guru, who may also be the Śikṣā-guru when he undertakes to train the mind of his disciple. Such Gurus may be many, but the Mantra-guru who imparts to the disciple the esoteric sacred formula for meditation cannot be more than one (*śrī-mantra-gurus tveka eva*). The very high position which the spiritual guide occupies in the Vaiṣṇava scheme of devotion is indicated by the injunction that the Guru should be looked upon as the divinity himself (*sva-gurau bhagavad-dṛṣṭiḥ kartavyā*).

The stages beginning from the awakening of the Ruci to the instruction of the spiritual guide are the preliminaries of Upāsanā or worship, and are therefore called the Upāsanā-pūrvāṅga. This is followed by different types or stages of Upāsanā graded according to the capacity of the worshipper. If the Guru is a Jñānin, the Upāsanā will be Nirviśeṣamaya, or worship of the Nirviśeṣa Brahma ; for Jñāna follows from association with the Jñāni-siddha (*jñāni-saṅgāc ca jñānam jñeyam*), just in the same way as Bhakti follows from association with the Bhakta-siddha. But the Upāsanā may also be Saviśeṣamaya and consist of the worship of a personal god. This may again be either Ahaṁ-graha-Upāsanā or Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā. The Ahaṁ-graha-Upāsanā consists of the meditation of one's identity with a personal god conceived as being possessed of particular Śakti (*ahaṁ-grahopāśanam tac-chakti-viśiṣṭa-īśvara evāham iti cintanam*), and the result naturally is the appearance of the particular divine Śakti in one's self (*asya phalam svasmimś tac-chaktyādyāvīrbhāvaḥ*), leading the devotee ultimately to the Svārūpya and Sārṣṭya forms of Mukti. As both the objective and the result are limited, this form of worship constitutes a lower stage of realization than what follows from the Bhakti-rūpa-Upāsanā.

The word Bhakti is derived from the verbal root *bhaj*, which is said to signify complete servitude or Seva. This state of servitude

of the Lord, therefore, is taken as the essential characteristic (*svarūpa-lakṣaṇa*) of Bhakti, the other characteristics already mentioned being only concomitant. This servitude or *Sevā* consists of entire submission in body, mind and words (*sā ca kāyika-vācika-mānasikātmikā trividhaivānugatir ucyate*). The Bhakti, according to its character and origin, is classified into three aspects or rather stages, viz. : (i) *Āropa-siddhā* or accomplished by outward imposition. It occurs when there is no spontaneous growth of Bhakti (*svato bhaktitvābhāve'pi*), but the feeling is raised to the state of Bhakti from the performance of acts dedicated to the Bhagavat (*bhagavad-arpaṇādīnā bhaktitvaṃ prāptā karmādi-rūpā*). (ii) *Saṅga-siddhā*, or accomplished by association with saintly persons. In this case also there is no spontaneous rise of Bhakti, but the feeling which grows from *Jñāna*, Karma and ancillaries thereof (*jñāna-karma-tadāṅga-rūpā*) is regarded as included in the category, apparently because it is a stepping stone to pure Bhakti. (iii) *Svarūpa-siddhā* or accomplished by its own nature. It may arise even though the devotee is unaware of it (*ajñānādīnāpi tat-prādurbhāve*), but it is invariably favourable to the growth of Bhakti (*bhaktitvāvyabhicārinī*) and consists of a direct inclination towards it in the form of such devotional acts as listening to or taking of the divine name (*sākṣāt tad-anugatyātmā tadīya-śravaṇa-kīrtanādi-rūpā*). The illustration given of this attitude is the case of Prahlāda, who in his previous birth observed, without knowing, religious fasting on the Nṛsiṃha-caturdaśī day ; or a still better illustration is the legend of the hawk who, carried in the mouth of a dog, made a compulsory circumbulation of the temple of the Bhagavat. Each of these types of devotional attitude may again be *Sakaitavā* or *Akaitavā*, or with or without a contrivance. Of the two forms of *Āropa-siddhā* and *Saṅga-siddhā*, the feeling in each case is said to be *Sakaitavā* when it takes the attainment of the state of Bhakti only as a means. The *Svarūpa-siddhā* is *Sakaitavā* when, through some other motive, it becomes subsidiary to Karma and *Jñāna*. When there is no other motive but the pleasure of the Bhagavat, the feeling is *Akaitavā*, and this type of Bhakti has already been described above as *Akiñcanā*.

This true type of the devotional feeling, known as the *Akaitavā* or *Akiñcanā*, admits of two stages, which are respectively designated as *Vaidhī* and *Rāgānugā*. Of these, the *Vaidhī* Bhakti as the preliminary stage is taken up first for treatment, but as the subject has already been dealt with by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*,¹ we shall only refer to the peculiar features of Jīva Gosvāmin's exposition. The *Vaidhī* is so called because it arises from the

¹ See *IHQ.*, viii (1932), pp. 649-54.

injunction of the Śāstra (*śāstroкта-vidhinā pravartitā vaidhī*), while the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural course of emotion, arises spontaneously and is independent of all such injunction. The injunction may be of two kinds, viz., that which is the cause of inclination towards Bhakti, and that which causes the knowledge of what to do and what not to do for the steadying of that inclination (*sa ca vidhir dvividhaḥ, tatra prathamah pravṛtti-hetuḥ, tad-anukrama-kartavyākartavyānām jñāna-hetuḥ ca dvitīyah*).

The elements of the Vaidhī Bhakti are enumerated as eleven, thus : (i) Śaraṇāpatti, or resorting to the Bhagavat as the only refuge (*ananya-gati*). It arises in two ways, viz., through the inborn conviction that there is nothing else which can afford permanent refuge (*āśrayāntarasyaābhāva-kathanena*), or through forsaking other alternatives adopted unwisely (*nāti-prajñayā kathamcid-āśritasyānyasya tyajanena*). This mental state is analyzed, after the Vaiṣṇava Tantra, into fixing of the mind on things congenial to the idea (*anukūlasya samkalpaḥ*), forsaking of the uncongenial attitude (*prātikūlya-vivarjanam*), the belief that the deity will protect him (*rakṣisyatīti viśvāsaḥ*), choosing him as the protector (*gotṛtve varaṇam*), resignation of self (*ātma-nikṣepaḥ*), and humility as an object of compassion (*kārpanyam*). The next stage is (ii) Guru-sevā, or devotion to the spiritual guide. The Guru is to be honoured above all beings and strictly obeyed, provided he satisfies all the scriptural requirements of a true guide. If the Guru is full of self-conceit (*avalipta*), has no real knowledge of duties (*kāryākāryam ajānan*), or himself deviates from the true Vaiṣṇava ways, he should be abandoned. This stage is followed by (iii) Śravaṇa, or the act of listening to the accounts of the form, sport and name of the Bhagavat (*nāma-rūpa-līlāmaya-śabdānām śrotra-sparsaḥ*), and not to a mere repetition of set formulas and prayers. Of all kinds of Śravaṇa, the act of listening to the *Bhāgavata* is the greatest (*taṭrāpi śravaṇe śrī-bhāgavata-śravaṇam tu parama-śreṣṭham*). Closely allied to this is (iv) Kīrtana, or chanting aloud of the above things, especially of the blessed name. This is said to be the most powerful means of effecting a devotional attitude ; and not being subject to the restrictions of time, place or person, it is the only efficacious method which should be universally adopted in the present decadent Kali Age (*kalau tu praśastam tat*). The chanting of Stotras in praise of the deity, which give expression to one's humility (*nija-dainya*) or one's wishes (*nijābhīṣṭa*) is included in the category of Kīrtana.

A still higher stage is reached in (v) Smaraṇa, or the act of remembering, which is described as mental concentration (*mānasā-nusandhānam*) and which consists of fixing one's thought on the name, the form or the sport of the deity. Five kinds of Smaraṇa

are differentiated, viz., Smaraṇa-sāmānya or fixing one's mind, however slightly or indefinitely (*yat kimcid anusamdhānam*); Dhāraṇā, or withdrawing the mind from all sides and fixing it in a general way (*sarvataś cittam ākṛṣya sāmānyākāreṇa mano-dhāraṇam*); Dhyāna, or special concentration of the mind with reference to the name, form, etc. of the deity (*viśeṣato rūpādi-cintanam*); Dhruvānusr̥ti, which is the same as above but in an uninterrupted flow like a stream of nectar (*amṛta-dhārāvad avicchinnaṃ tat*); and Samādhi, or the exclusive appearance of the object of thought in the mind (*dhyeya-mātra-sphuraṇam*), which, however, is different from the Asamprajñāta Brahma-samādhi. This leads to various external acts of devotion collectively included under the designation : (vi) Pādasevā, such as the act of seeing, touching or going round (*parikrama*) the image of the deity, following the procession of the image (*anuvrajaṇa*), residence in the temple or in some sacred place, pilgrimage, bathing in the holy waters of a Tīrtha, etc. Living in holy places and pilgrimage are extolled as affording an opportunity of meeting saints and sages in these places. Further overt acts of devotion constitute the next stage, called (vii) Arcanā, which includes various rites of worship to be learnt from the instruction of the Mantra-Guru or from the Āgamas. It is true that the *Bhāgavata* does not, as the Pañcarātra scriptures do, insist upon the necessity of ceremonial worship (*yadyapi śrī-bhāgavata-mate pañcarātravad arcanā-mārgasyāvaśyakatvaṃ nāsti*), for recourse to one or other of the modes like Śaraṇāpatti mentioned above is, in its opinion, enough for attaining the highest good (*tad vināpi śaraṇāpattiyādīnām ekatareṇāpi puruṣārtha-siddher abhihitatvāt*); but those who desire to follow this way of the Pañcarātras can do so in accordance with the Dikṣā received from their Gurus. This way of ceremonial worship is intended especially for those who are wealthy householders (*ye tu sampattimanto grhasthās teṣāṃ tvarcanā-mārga eva mukhyaḥ*), for this is how their wealth can be best utilized. In this connexion the worship of inferior deities is deprecated. The Arcanā also comprehends such pious acts as putting on the Vaiṣṇava signs on one's body (*vaiṣṇava-cihna-dhāraṇa*), partaking of the remains of an offering to the deity (*nirmālya-dhāraṇa*) or drinking of the holy water obtained after washing the feet of the image (*caranāmṛta-pāna*), etc. which are regularly enjoined in the Vaiṣṇava Śāstra. Closely connected with this is (viii) Vandana, or act of homage, which is indeed an Aṅga or auxiliary of Arcanā, but which is separately mentioned in order to indicate that it may be independently employed like Smaraṇa, Kīrtana, etc. (*tac ca yadyapi arcanāṅgatvenāpi vartate, tathāpi kīrtana-smaraṇavat svātantryeṇāpīlyabhipretya pṛthag vidhiyate*). It includes Namaskāra or salutation, which in Bengal

Vaiṣṇavism consists of prostration at full length like a log of wood (*dāsyāvat prañāmah*). The acts and ceremonies mentioned above gradually produce feelings of humility, fellowship or entire self-surrender which are now mentioned as Aṅgas of the Vaidhī Bhakti. The feeling of humility is indicated by (ix) Dāsya, which consists not only of actual service but also of the feeling that one is a servant of the Lord (*dāsyammanyatvam*). Leaving alone the effort of worship, this very feeling of servitude, if fully realized, is enough for attaining the desired end ; hence Dāsya is separately mentioned as a way of Bhakti (*astu tāvad bhajana-prayāsaḥ, kevala-tādṛśatvābhimānenāpi siddhir bhavatītyabhipretyaivottaratra nirdeśaś ca tasya*). This feeling of servitude is said to underlie and uplift all devotional practices (*etad-dāsya-sambandhenaiva sarvam api bhajanam mahattaram bhavati*). A somewhat higher feeling is (x) Sakhya, or the sense of friendship or relationship (*bandhu-bhāva*), which, like Dāsya, follows from the very nature of the relation of the Jīva and the Bhagavat. The last stage is reached in (xi) Ātma-nivedana, or complete surrender of self which consists of the feeling that one's body, mind, the senses, and soul are all intended for the Bhagavat (*dehādīśuddhātmā-paryantasya sarvatobhāvena tasminn evārpanam*). This feeling is marked also by the absence of all efforts for one's self (*ātmārtha-ceṣṭā-sūnyatvam*) and by the presence alone of efforts directed towards the pleasure of the Bhagavat (*tad-arthaika-ceṣṭā-mayatvam*). It thus consists of the dedication of self, both as a means and as an end, to the Bhagavat (*tan-nyastātma-sādhana-sādhyatvam*).

Sometimes one or other of these eleven elements, which are inter-related to one another, is extolled as exclusively excellent in the scriptures ; this is due not to any inherent mutual contradiction among these various ways, but to the fact that the one or the other is to be believed in or practised according to the capacity of the individual worshipper, just in the same way as medicine is to be administered according to the capacity of the patient.

As this aspect of Bhakti is guided by the injunction of the Vaiṣṇava scriptures, it is conditional. It is based upon the fear of transgression ; and as fear enters as an element in guiding devotional practices, this method must be regarded as somewhat formal and mechanical. As a preliminary stage, however, it is indispensable for some individuals before they can pass on to the higher and more spontaneous Rāgānugā Bhakti, to the treatment of which now Jīva Gosvāmin turns his attention.

By Rāgānugā Bhakti is meant the feeling of devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti which is eternally displayed by the Śaktis (in the form of divine Parikaras) towards the

Śaktimat. The Rāgātmikā Bhakti, as its name implies, consists entirely of Rāga, which is defined as the natural excess of desire or attachment of a subject towards the object of desire or attachment (*viṣayinaḥ svābhāviko viṣaya-saṃsargecchātīsayah premā rāgaḥ*). For instance, whether the self wishes it or not, the five senses cannot but come into contact with the particular objects of inclination and be attracted by them. Thus, the sense of sight is naturally drawn towards beauty, that of smell towards fragrance. In the same way the devotee cannot but be attracted towards the Bhagavat (*yathā cakṣurādīnāṃ saundaryam, tādrśa evātra bhaktasya śrī-bhagavatyaṇi rāga ityucyate*). This spontaneous flow of devotion is called Rāgātmikā Bhakti. The Rāga may admit of various aspects according to the nature of the feeling and the relationship conceived between the subject and the object, for the Lord himself has said (*Bhāgavata*, iii, 25, 38): *yeṣāṃ ahaṃ priya ātmā sutaś ca sakḥā guruḥ suhrdo daivam iṣṭam* ('Of whom I am the beloved, the Soul, the Son, the Friend, the Elderly Ancestor, the Relative, and the Desirable Deity'). It is explained that the Lord appeared as the Priya to the Gopīs and his Mahiṣīs, as the Ātman to ascetics like Sanaka, as the Suta to Nanda and Yaśodā, as the Sakhi to Gopas like Sudāman, as the Guru to Pradyumna and others, as the Suhrd to Subhadrā, and as the Iṣṭa Deva to people like Dārūka. In his Līlā he manifests himself in these diverse ways to his Parikaras who are dear to him; and the feeling of the Parikaras towards him takes the various forms of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, which thus expresses itself as a deep and natural feeling of attachment. The Vaidhī Bhakti depends upon the injunctions of the Śāstras, and hence it is comparatively weak, being mechanical; but the Rāgānugā, which follows the natural emotional ways of the Parikaras of the Bhagavat, is independent of all outward rule and is therefore spontaneous and strong.

It may be objected that if the Rāgānugā Bhakti is marked by freedom from scriptural injunctions, the statement about its merit as the highest Dharma is in conflict with the well known dictum of Jaimini (I, 1, 2 *codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah*) which lays down that the Dharma is that which is enjoined by scriptural injunction. It is also said in the *Bhāgavata* that the Śruti and Smṛti, consisting of injunctions and prohibitions, are the directions of the Bhagavat himself, so that one who disregards them is guilty of violating divine commandments and cannot be regarded as a true Vaiṣṇava or a Bhakta. How is it then that fulfilment is said to follow in a way of worship which is indifferent to the Śāstric rules of conduct (*katham tarhi vidhi-nirapekṣayā tayā siddhiḥ*)? This apparent anomaly is reconciled by the statement that Bhakti must be distinguished from other kinds of Dharma, which depend upon outward Śāstric rules,

for the devotional attitude which springs spontaneously from the intrinsic potency of the divine names and attributes is independent of such injunctions (*śrī-bhagavan-nāma-guṇādiṣu vastu-śakteḥ siddhātvān na dharmavad bhakteś codanā-sāpekṣatvam*). It is known from experience that in many cases there has been attainment of such devotion even without any knowledge of scriptural rules (*ato jñānā-dikam vināpi phala-lābho bahutra śruto'sti*). It is true that scriptural directions should not be disregarded, but directions are for those who have no natural inclination towards religious devotion (*codanā tu yasya svataḥ pravṛttir nāsti tad-viṣayaiva*); it is for such people that grades of injunctions are prescribed (*tathā krama-vidhiś ca tad-viṣayah*). They are not necessary for those who have a natural proneness (*na tu svayaṁ pravṛttimatyaḥ maryaḍā-nirmāṇam*); for such outward mechanical rules are obligatory only when the mind in the early stage of devotion is inwardly distracted and cannot attain the natural stage of composure which is essential for the Rāgānugā Bhakti. Hence, the chief object of the injunctions is to bring about this gradual concentration of the mind (*kramaśaś cittābhiniveśāya*) and prepare it for the higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti (*varṇma-praveśāya*) in which the devotional spirit has a spontaneous and uninterrupted flow. It follows, therefore, that the scriptural injunctions are not to be ignored or violated; on the contrary, they are strictly binding on those who are still far away from the state of the Rāgānugā Bhakti. But when that state of mind is once reached, either by the Vaidhī or by itself, i.e. when the object of the injunctions is fulfilled, there is no further necessity for compliance with them. At this higher stage of the Rāgānugā Bhakti, if there is any violation of such injunctions, such violation does not constitute wilful transgression; for it takes place spontaneously by the spirit of Bhakti and does not in any way affect the natural attitude of the devotee towards the Bhagavat.

That this mode of Rāgānugā Bhakti is the most efficacious is illustrated by the Purāṇic examples of Putanā and Śiśupāla. In the first case, by pretending Vātsalya or parental affection for Kṛṣṇa, Putanā does not actually realize but merely imitates one of the modes of the Rāgānugā devotion; but, in spite of her insincerity and sinister motive, her mere imitativeness is said to have been amply rewarded by divine grace. In the second case, under the cover of a life-long and inveterate vindictiveness towards Kṛṣṇa, Śiśupāla's whole thought was indeed deeply concentrated on Kṛṣṇa, and this fervency of feeling, despite its ill-directed motive, could not but bring its own reward in the shape of Sāyujya-Mukti for Śiśupāla. On account of this adverse attitude, Śiśupāla could not attain the highest good, viz., Premā or love for Kṛṣṇa, and he was given the

lowest place in the hierarchy of emancipated beings; but this and the other example show that the Rāgānugā Bhakti, even if it is imitative, adverse or apathetic, is superior to the Vaidhī, even when the latter is directed in a congenial and sympathetic way.

It has been already said above that the Rāgānugā Bhakti is that devotion which follows the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the constant associates or Parikaras of the Bhagavat, which is thus an aspect of the eternal divine sport displayed in the divine Dhāmas. These Parikaras represent the different aspects of the Lord's own attribute of bliss or Hlādinī Śakti, which in its infinite potency reflects itself differently in them in the form of different personal relationships conceived in emotional terms. The one and the same infinite Rasa or divine sentiment of bliss is differently expressed, and results in different devotional relationships between the Śaktimat and the aspects of his Śaktis. Viewed from the standpoint of emotional human relationship (Rāgātmikā), the varieties of Rasa thus reflected in the divine Parikaras become the different types or stages of Rāgātmikā Bhakti. On the lines of the Rāgātmikā Bhakti, the Rāgānugā Bhakti of ordinary devotees is modelled as types or stages of the spontaneous devotional sentiment. The Vaidhī Bhakti need not involve any emotional realization of this character; it is enough if the enjoined religious duties are performed in an attitude of devotion. The Rāgānugā Bhakti, on the other hand, consists of an emotional sublimation of intimate human sentiments by directing them towards the Bhagavat. It is, no doubt, an inward and spontaneous realization, but it is still an elaborate realization or Sādhana; like the Vaidhī, it is still Sādhana-Bhakti, but the Sādhana is independent of mechanical Śāstric formulas and depends entirely on one's own emotional capacity of devotion. It is, however, vicarious in the sense that the devotee, according to his individual capacity, imitates and realizes within himself the different aspects of the beatific sport of the deity with his Associates in terms of one or other of the varieties of the blissful sentiment. It does not consist of a direct establishment of personal relationship between the deity and the devotee, but the devotee prepares himself for such direct personal contact by this preliminary vicarious enjoyment of the devotional sentiments of the deity's own Parikaras, who typify the highest forms of devotional realization. This Rāgātmikā Bhakti of the divine Parikaras cannot indeed be reached in its perfection by phenomenal beings, but years of constant practice can prepare them for ultimately attaining this state.

These forms or gradations of emotional realization are classified, in terms of human sentiments, into five broad categories of Rasas

or devotional sentiments, viz., Śānta, Dāśya, Sakhya, Vātsalya and Mādhurya, the characteristics of which have already been indicated in connexion with Rūpa Gosvāmin's treatment of the Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra.¹ The idea of the stages of distinct personal relationship of the deity and his Parikaras is a fundamental postulate with the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism, because otherwise the relationship would be reduced to one of entire identity, which cannot be posited in view of the theory of difference in non-difference accepted by the school. It is for this reason that the Śānta-Bhakti, which does not involve any such ideas of personal emotional relationship, is distinguished as inferior to the other four. The Śānta-Bhakti consists of Śama or a state of mental composure, in which the devotee, according to the description of the *Gītā* becomes *brahmabhūta*, attaining the consciousness of his complete identity with Brahma. This mode of realization, therefore, is not based upon the idea of personal relationship with the Bhagavat conceived as the perfect person, and would reduce the devotional sentiment into a sentiment of self-worship. No doubt, it involves an amount of Bhakti, but both in its method and objective it is mixed with Jñāna; and such Jñāna-miśrā Bhakti has already been spoken of above as an inferior type of Bhakti. It is not entirely rejected as a mode, but it is followed only by those who are desirous of Mukti or complete merger in the impersonal Brahma. The pure Bhakti, on the other hand, is free from any such inferior objective, but it wants to continue its worship of the deity in some form of direct emotional relationship even in a state of emancipation from the bondage of the Māyā-śakti. The first stage of this unmixed Bhakti is Dāśya or the sentiment of servitude, which is higher than the somewhat colourless sentiment involved in Śānta-Bhakti, for it conceives the Bhagavat as the eternal master and the Parikara as his eternal servant. There are also two other stages of affectionate relationship, viz., Sakhya or Friendship and Vātsalya or Parental Sentiment, until the climax is reached in the intense and exquisite feeling of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa. This sentiment can also be imitated and vicariously realized by the devotee irrespective of his sex. In this highest stage the Lordship of the deity is completely suppressed by a sweetly powerful and self-surrendering charm which produces a strong mutual attraction between the deity and his Parikara.

In this connexion Jīva Gosvāmin maintains that the passion of the Gopīs for Kṛṣṇa must not be viewed as mere sensual passion (*prākṛta kāma*). No doubt, there are verses in the *Bhāgavata* in which the display of conjugal love is described with reference to

¹ See *I.H.Q.*, 1932, pp. 666-8.

Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs ; but even if it is desire or Kāma, in the Gopīs it becomes pure love or Premā (*tādṛśinām kāmo hi premaiika-rūpaḥ*) ; for in all these ecstatic sports the Gopīs never had the slightest desire for their own pleasure, but all their efforts were directed towards effecting the supreme pleasure of the Bhagavat. In the case of the Sairindhṛī (the Kubjā), her desire for sporting with Kṛṣṇa is not deprecated in itself ; for whatever may have been the character of her desire, she did not long for inferior worldly objects (*prākṛtam eva viṣayam*) but for the Bhagavat himself (*sā tu bhagavantam eva kāmāyate iti parama-sumanīṣinyeva*), and there is no doubt from her words about the intensity of her feeling. It is deprecated only in comparison with the feeling of the Gopīs, for her desire for sport was entirely for her own sensual pleasure, while that of the Gopīs was exclusively intended for Kṛṣṇa (*sairindhryās tu bhāvo rirāmsā-prāyatvena śrī-gopīnām iva kevala-tat-tātparyābhāvāt tad-apekṣayaiva nindyate, na tu svarūpataḥ*). In accordance with the *Vedānta-sūtra* ii, 1, 33 (*lokavat tu līlā-kaivalyam*), the Lord's intrinsic self consists of nothing but a spontaneous sport of his own infinite bliss (*līlā tvatra svabhāvata eva siddhā*). This sport must be understood to be non-phenomenal (*aprākṛta*), but it is similar in form to that of phenomenal beings (*lokavat*). In the phenomenal world the pleasure derived from conjugal love is reckoned as the highest fruition of sensuous pleasure ; it is only natural that the Bhagavat should also display in his sport with his own Śaktis supersensuous pleasure of a similar character. The sex-instinct is thus acknowledged in this theology as one of the highest human instincts, which finds a transfigured counterpart or ideal in the highest sportive instinct of the divine being. The Gopīs, as already shewn, are nothing but aspects of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa's highest attribute of bliss (Hlādinī Śakti), and sport with them after the manner of phenomenal beings is only a natural expression of the divine self. Moreover, the sacred texts show that even ascetics and devotees like Uddhava, who were above worldly pleasure, praised and desired such pleasure of conjugal love as displayed by the Gopīs. The *Padma-purāṇa* records that even the Śrūti (the Vedas) craved for it, and were incarnated as Gopīs. The fact that not only women but also men, and men of saintly character, desire it shows that the feeling is free from all touch of mere sensuality (*na prākṛtaḥ kāmo'sau*).

In conclusion Jīva Gosvāmin states that other details about Bhakti-mārga are to be learnt from the Śāstras or from the examples of great devotees. But whatever devotional secret one obtains from the grace of the Bhagavat or from his Guru should be cherished as a precious possession and should not be divulged to any one.

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF THE KHANDHA-DOCTRINE

(concluded)

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

In this second part ¹ of my examination of the Khandha-contexts in the Piṭakas, I am setting beside the analysis of such contexts in the Khandha-Samyutta all the remaining contexts that I have found in the Sutta-Piṭaka and some in the other two Piṭakas. With the remarkably rare references to the khandhas in the Dīgha-Nikāya I have dealt incidentally in my first part; also with the total omission of reference to them in the Sutta-Nipāta.

References to the khandhas, either by name, or also as five in number, or to them without reference to name or number occur, in these materials, in the varying frequency indicated in the following table :—

VINAYA-PIṬAKA.

Mahāvagga, I, 6, 19; and 38 f., viz. in the First and Second Utterances.

SUTTA-PIṬAKA.

Dīgha-Nikāya (see Part I of this article).

Majjhima-Nikāya : 17 references.

Samyutta-Nikāya, excluding Khandha-Samyutta : 19 references.

Anguttara-Nikāya, 15 references.

Khuddaka-Nikāya :

Khuddakapāṭha, 1 reference (not under head 5, but under head 4).

Dhammapada, 1 reference : *khandhānam udayabbayaṃ*.

Udāna, no reference.

Iti-vuttaka, 1 reference.

Sutta-Nipāta, no reference.

Peta- and Vimāna-vatthu, no reference.

There-therī-gāthā, 6 references.

The other six books of this Nikāya, together with the seven of the Third Piṭaka I put aside for the purpose of this table. They are admittedly later compilations, and it is with the earliest appearances of the khandhas that this study is concerned.

¹ For part I, see *Indian Culture*, Jan. 1937.

Let me here say I have, for these statistics, relied mainly on indexes. None knows better than I how far indexes, even those compiled by the best-intentioned indexmakers, are incomplete. Hence I am cautious in drawing conclusions from frequency of reference or the reverse. For instance, from the paucity of allusions in 7 of the 8 books of anthologies above. That paucity is fairly well balanced by the frequency apparent in the last-named, so that it were no fit argument to say, that allusions to a category of psychological analysis, such as is that of the 5 khandhas, are not likely to find mention in poetry. It should here be remembered, that Pali verses are not always to be credited to the poetic muse ; they were largely due to mnemonic need. And further : there came to be coined a metrical tag embracing the main heads of that analytical vogue which so overmastered the adolescent Buddhist Sangha. It ran

khandh'âyatana-dhātu ca

'the factors, spheres and elements', as one might translate it, and several of those 15 references consist in this. Another tag, a prose one, in the monastic vocabulary, was *khandhānaṃ udayabbayaṃ*, which is also metrical : 'the rise and passing of the groups'. This also occurs repeatedly in verse. The only conclusion I can draw from the silence about khandhas in four of the anthologies above, and the one reference only in three of the others is, that, had the curriculum of monk-teaching, when those seven were mainly compiled, put strongly forward the khandha-analysis as substitute for the soul or spirit, reference to this would have occurred, and oftener.

I have said 'mainly' compiled and with point. Every anthology will have had its own history. And into that individual story the future historian of the Pali Canon will have to go. Let him or her here note, that the references in the Theragāthā to the khandhas are not made by any contributor of whom we can say with confidence, that he was a contemporary of the Founder, with this one exception : Soṇa-Kūṭikaṇṇa (Vin. Mhv. V, 13). And in his verses, the khandhas are only mentioned in an obvious gloss at the end, when Soṇa has done his compilation, an appendix which is added to other gāthās (ver. 368-9). Thus :

Thereafter in the presence of the Chief,
 The Wake, did Soṇa, framing goodly speech,
 Utter the very Dhamma, man o' the Very Wake.
 Well doth he know the factors five, making the Road to come
 to be.
 Having attained the utter peace, unblemished will he make
 an end.

There is no mention of khandhas in the verses of Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Ānanda, Kassapa, Revata, Kappina, Punṇa, or any others of the Old Brigade. I judge this is contributory evidence of some weight, however much Sāriputta's name, in the Suttas, has got mixed up with khandha-talk.

There is another quasi-silence about the 'five', which I am loth to pass by, however explicitly I have guarded myself from deductions from it. It is that silence of the Dīgha-Nikāya. There is plenty of patchwork in this venerable compilation, as we know. I would remind readers, how the whole of the First, the Sīla, Section is silent about that remarkable taking over of a forgotten Brahman's tele-volitional ethics till the end of the last chapter, when it comes in as a patchwork. There was call and scope for khandha-reference in the Sāmaññaphala Suttanta, in all conscience (p. 76); or in the Poṭṭhapāda Suttanta; still more perhaps in the Nidāna-Suttanta, the Sakkapañha, the Pāyāsi, and most of all, in the Sampasādaniya and Pāsādika Suttantas, wherein all the points in sound religious teaching are rehearsed. I am not here wondering why the 'five' were not introduced into the Points, once Thirty, then Thirtyseven, called later *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*. Neither were the Four Truths inserted into these. Those 'dhammas' were *processes* in ethical, in religious training. The Truths, the Khandhas were, as was supposed, just statements of fact. But these Suttantas, especially the Sampasādaniya set forth what the Founder was held to have taught. And the omission there of the Khandhas is really not without significance.

Why then does the Second Collection (Majjhima) harp where the First (Dīgha) is all but silent? The answer lies buried in the lost centres, seats of 'bhāṇakas', where each Collection was developed from remembered Sayings:—just texts of discourse, or episodes or, it may be, complete if short talks,—into finished literary compositions, oral and then written. I do not attach weight to the tradition, quoted in the Dīgha Commentary, of the Dīgha being handed over to Ānanda's care, the Majjhima to the school of Sāriputta (the Saṃyutta to Kassapa, the Anguttara to Anuruddha). It is a bald statement, perhaps good for nothing. Yet I do not forget Ānanda's ignoring of the khandhas when the perplexed Channa appealed to him. (See part I of this article). We can, in default of evidence, only surmise, that the Majjhima centre was more under proto-Sāṅkhyan influence, more engaged in mental analysis than the Dīgha centre. Or it may have been that, whereas the Dīgha tradition was one in which Brahmans had held Gotama in high respect (cf. Suttantas 3–8, etc.), the Majjhima centre may have been one where the rift between Brahmans and Sakya over ritual and sacrifice grew

more quickly to include central matters of Immanence, of the *Ātman*. So marked in such things is the difference between the two Collections, that it is at times hard to believe them to have sprung from a common source. The difference in length does not account for the silence of the one, for the *Dīgha* is over three quarters the length of the *Majjhima*.

The disparity in proportion of reference in the two other Collections is even more remarkable, since to the 19 of the *Saṃyutta* in my Table we must add 158 references, i.e. one for each Sutta of the *Khandha Saṃyutta*. We get thus, in two Collections, the total lengths of which are about $\frac{1}{4}$, a proportion-in-reference of $\frac{1}{15}$. Now it is possible, that the amassing Suttas on 'kindred' subjects (I refer to my husband's choice and mine of the title 'Kindred Sayings') may have entailed much sweeping in from different centres, accomplished either when on tour, or by special tours, or not till the great Patna revisional Congress. Hence it may not be true to see in a *Saṃyutta-bhāṇaka* centre a special preoccupation with the *khandha* doctrine. On the other hand it must never be forgotten, that the 'Fives' Section in the *Anguttara* omits all mention of *khandhas*—an overlooked fact pointed out by myself. And this looks suspiciously as if no such doctrine was in existence when that Section was compiled.

I am not saying that five *khandhas* find no mention in this Fifth Section. I find one and only one—and that comes last in a fairly obvious appendix to a Sutta. This is No. 30, 'Nāgita'. The Founder is shown resenting being fussed over, and his expression of it begins and is rounded off in the same terms 'let such an one enjoy... flattery'. Then comes an appendix of five points, the *khandhas* being possibly put in to lend dignity to a talk that certainly lacks graciousness, to say nothing more:—(We may thus go a step further than the schoolboy's definition of an appendix:—'a portion of a book of which no one has yet discovered the use'). 'Whoever abides seeing the rise and passing of the fivefold group of attachment (*upādānakkhandha*)...

Nor are the subjects classed as 'fives' only of the nature of processes—to repeat what I was saying above. The student may quickly see the great diversity so classed in the table I made of them all in the *Anguttara Index Volume* (pp. 174–92) 26 years ago.

I have for some time judged that, in the Fourth Collection, we have not the latest, but the earliest attempt made to collect and classify the growing thesaurus of Sayings, and that hence, if the *Anguttara* omits—and it does omit—categories, formulas, which are now placed as central to Buddhist teaching, it is because, during the making of that attempt, these had not yet been made. That

the khandhas find incidental mention in the Anguttaras some 15 times does not affect this conclusion. The hand of the later editor is too palpable throughout, not to betray whence khandhas and other tenets may have come to be inserted.

Let us now look into other of these khandha-contexts, if haply (1) we may get any light as to whether they were originally integral to the discourse, or whether they were later insertions and additions; secondly, (2) whether, as probably the latter, they form a misfit in the text, such as we found in the Khandha-Saṃyutta. Next, (3) whether the contexts suggest an earliest usage for which a more detailed statement of 'mind' was felt to be needed. Lastly, (4) a word on khandhas in the Third Piṭaka.

Of the khandha contexts in the Sutta-Piṭaka, the majority evidently treat the subject as a well-recognized tenet in orthodox teaching. The pentad, whether it be referred to as such, or under each of the five heads, is either woven up into the discourse, or is used with other tenets in summing up, or is used as opening, or forms the one theme, or is cited in terms of what I have called a tag, a cliché, or is mentioned in passing. Specimens of each of these usages may be seen in (1) the Snake Sutta, S. IV, 173; (2) the Mahāhatthipadopama, M. No. XXVIII; (3) the Minor Miscellany, M. No. 44 and Rāhula Sutta, M. No. LXII; (4) the Sutta 'Pattam', S. I, 112; (5) the First Utterance, and wherever the description there given of *dukkha* is repeated: *sankhittena pañcupādānakkahandhā dukkhā*; (6) Vajirā's and Selā's verses (Therīgāthā, and S. i, 135.) Let it not for a moment be supposed, that the task of undermining the place at present occupied by the khandha-tenet is an easy one. It would not sit as firmly as it does in books on Buddhism, were the majority of contexts other than such as are in this sixfold list.

I will now ask readers to consider certain, if fewer contexts, where the tenet does not sit so firmly. It will be seen, that their instability shows interesting variants to those I gave from the Khandha-Saṃyutta.

Let me first cite where a later (?) appendix seems apparent. I find such contexts in

Saṃyutta i, 246 and 250;
 „ iii, 186.
 „ v, 60.

Anguttara, ii, 45,
 Theragāthā. I, 120 & 440.
 „ I, 90 (approximately).

Reading these contexts can alone bring assent or dissent.

I come to one or two 'misfits' in khandha-contexts.

I do not stress the partly different names for the 'five' in S., I, 112.

Rūpaṃ, vedayitaṃ, saññāṃ, viññāṇaṃ yañca sankhaṭaṃ,

nor the difference in order, because we have here what may have been only metrical exigency. Nor do I attach significance to the attempt made here and there in the long Saṃyutta on Causation (Nidāna), to weave in the five in this or that version of a talk on cause (e.g., S. II, 28, 30).

But I do see an *appended* reference to the four mental khandhas, where originally *only the body* was referred to in the following:—

'There is a much repeated description of material form, given for instance in M. No. LXII, again in A. i, 284; ii, 171, 202, etc.),— 'whatever *rūpa* there is, past, present, future, within, without, gross, subtle, high, low, far, near, it is not mine, I am not it, it is not for me the self.' The Founder is shown saying this as he goes before his son on an alms-round. Rāhula is then made to say: 'Just *rūpa*, sir?' The answer is 'Not just *rūpa*, but also feeling, perception, complexes, awareness'.

So far so good. Here is no reason for alleging insertion or misfit. The son may have only wished to make sure (what he surely must, as his father's pupil, have known), that neither were any ways of mind to be considered as the self, they, no less than body, being but the limited instruments of the self. But wherever *elsewhere* this description of *rūpa* is cited, both in the Majjhima (three times) and in Saṃyutta and Anguttara, the description is *explicitly applied to each mental khandha*. And this drives me to conclude, that this older description of 'matter' or body, worded of the man when contemplating his bodily frame, came to be extended to the fourfold aspect of mind, when this division of mind came into vogue, a description which, for anything immaterial, *is in part a misfit*. We have only to look among the Suttas for descriptions of *manas*, *citta*, *viññāṇa* to see how quite otherwise each is described. I have submitted this context to a few of my wisest friends, and their verdict is unanimous, that we have here a strong case for later insertion of the four mental khandhas.

One other misfit I find in an interesting position, namely, in the 'Fours' of the Anguttara. (I repeat, the 'five' are not a titular item in the Fives). In the Sutta Sokkhumāni, 'subtle things' (IV, II, 16), we read of a man having power to penetrate subtlety of *rūpa*, of *saññā*, of *vedanā*, and of the *sankhāra*'s. The verses follow:—

Knowing the subtlety of form and knowing
 How feelings come to be, and whence arises
 Perception, how it ends, knowing the activities
 As other and as ill, but not as self :
 (These things) if he do see aright, the monk . . .

Here we have the all-important reservation made of the (unnamed) fifth khandha, *viññāṇa*, as implicitly meaning still, not the mere mind-way it came to mean, but as the very man, the self, here 'the monk'. It was the man conceived as persistingly aware, in both this world and hereafter, that was expressed by *viññāṇa*, both in the Upanisads and in Piṭakan 'left-ins', and which we see so fiercely attacked by the growing monastic ideals in the Majjhima (No. 38), and there reduced to the mere resultant of a preceding sensation.

The Sutta is for my subject of historical interest, since it shows a perhaps brief stage in the outlook on body and mind prior to the emergence of these as fivefold. We have the outlook as fourfold with the retention of the man as not yet a mere fifth item. There is no sign that the Sutta is a later insertion. But we can feel fairly sure, that had that outlook become fivefold when the titles of the Fourth and Fifth Nipātas were selected, the Sokkhumāni would have been held back for inclusion in the Fifth, and the Fifth would have had the Five among its titles.

Before leaving the subject of misfits, I will mention a negative one, so to speak ; I mean, where the 'five' would almost certainly have found mention, had they already come into the 'church' curriculum. In the Majjhima are two catechetical Suttas, (Nos. 43 and 44), called the Major and Minor Miscellanies. We see two very eminent fellow-workers of the Founder agreeing to play teacher and pupil, to draft an oral *vade mecum* for the use of learners. The trend of the talk is psychological ; *viññāṇa* and *vedanā* and *paññā* being discussed. But there is never a word about any fivefold division of body and mind ! With the second Sutta, alleged to have been between the eminent nun Dhammadinnā and her ex-husband, the catechism starts with the khandhas ; and for us the query rises : Was this beginning interpolated to make good the omission in the former ? No reply short of a psychic one is here to be hoped for, and I pass, with this Sutta beside me, to add a word on what may possibly have been, at their introduction, the chief use to which the 'five' were put.

Here and repeatedly we find them used to expand the term *sakkāya-dīṭṭhi*, 'the view of the (man as being) a group'. This is a label for a formula which is actually an expansion of the caution given in the 'Second Utterance' of Gotama, spoken to his first

few adherents.¹ But in its aim it *virtually inverts that caution*. The *argument* in the Utterance belongs to the current teaching of Immanence. 'You' are by nature divine, but having here to work with limited instruments, body and mind, you limit your Divine nature, *if* you see that nature in either instrument. Against this dangerous tendency of the day, Kauṣītaki also warned his students, as I have often pointed out.² But the *formula*, albeit it does not say in so many words there is no 'you' over and above the 'five', bodily and mental, virtually admits this. The wrong 'view' is to 'see' the man as any one of the five, or as having it,³ or as being in it, or as seeing it in the man. And this pluralistic conclusion of man-as-many, not as one, became and has remained the main doctrine of Hinayāna Buddhism to this day. I wrote once, replying to the letter of a young Ceylon monk, you make the man out to be merely the body and mind he uses. The rejoinder was : What in heaven's name is he if not these two ?

Now this pluralism, although it is a disgrace—as James Ward pointed out—to what extent it is found in the religion and the psychology of to-day, was a very new and growing tendency in the India of the late centuries of the last era, and it asserted itself at the Council of Patna, when the Sangha won for itself the by-name of 'Analysers' (*vibhajjavādins*). And so we have the pathetic historical tragedy before us, of a great teacher's *caveat*, warning men not to confuse the man with his limited instruments, twisted into an insistence on the truth of this very confusion ! In his day it will have seemed to the Founder Gotama impossible that man could come to deny his own reality ; the one danger lay in confusing that unique reality with what he used for self-expression. At the opposite pole to his teaching we have, after a thousand years, Buddhaghosa affirming, that there is no such unique reality in man or in anything else whatever.

There are, I well know, many who, if they read that phrase : 'at the opposite pole to his teaching', will protest I go too far. Will they, perhaps for the first time consider the talk, as between Gotama and Saccaka the Licchavi, in Majjhima, No. 35 ? Gotama, made to speak in terms of the five khandhas, elicits from Saccaka, that he (Saccaka) holds this opinion : 'I, master Gotama, say thus : For me body is the self, feeling is the self, perception, complexes, awareness, is the self'. To him thereupon Gotama : 'Would a king of Kosala, of Magadha, have punitive power over offenders

¹ Vin. Mahāv. I, 6.

² Kauṣ. Up. 3, 8.

³ As a tree has its shadow. Comy.

among his subjects?' Saccaka: 'Ay, and republics too'. (That is, if we remember that for India the only 'judge' was the political chief, these chiefs would not have that power were they just subjects). To him Gotama: 'Can you then, as self (i.e. as being innately Divine) order body to do as you wish?' Saccaka sits silenced. The question is repeated concerning the other four khandhas. Saccaka then retracts and admits it is not proper to identify the self with what is so far from divine—i.e. transient, ill, changeable—as is each of the five.

Now the analogy with the judge it is that is here overlooked. The king is judge because he is not any of his subjects. By analogy, the self is not his tools, body, mind. But it does not follow that, because the king is not John Smith, *therefore there is no king*!

So we have on the one hand Gotama affirming that the relation of the man or self to his body and mind is as much a reality as is that of judge to delinquent, and on the other Buddhaghosa and Buddhists, nay, and writers on Buddhism merging the reality of the man or self in his delinquent body and mind. I call this being at opposite poles.

But was there not very likely an intermediate stage in the growing canker? It may be that, when these Suttas were taking shape, the slaying of the man was not yet completed, that it was only his Divinity that was taught as in the word *ātman*, (*attan*) which was denied of him. I still hold this is probable, a sliding rock arrested halfway down the mountain-side. Probable partly because of the attributes of Deity brought into a much repeated formula in which the 'five' are usually called in. Thus: since we cannot say of body, etc. that it is permanent (blissful), therefore it cannot be *ātman*, i.e. Deity, (or Holy Spirit). There may yet be a 'self', but, as was to be much harped upon, he can only 'be got at' (*upalabbhati*) through the khandhas, or the many dhammas.

With the period of the gradual compilation of the Third Piṭaka, and its inclusion in the Canon,¹ the coffin, as I have said, of the five khandhas was taking shape. It was namely becoming orthodox to teach the man as 'being', not so much a fivefold aggregate, as a much more numerous group of *dhamma*'s. We see this already in the crude introspection of the *Dhammasaṅgani*, where this and that 'thought' (*citta*), or fleeting moment of consciousness, is analysed into some fifty *dhammā* and more. The khandhas are then brought in, with other categories, as being, as we might say, so many aspects of the given *citta*. The later division: *citta* and *cetasikā*, as a given (state of) mind and its contents, already peeps out in the

¹ *Bud. Psychol. Ethics*, 2d. ed., p. xi.

work (1022f)', an analysis which was to achieve a long paramountcy in the standard Manual.¹ In it a dummy man-of-mind came to make good the unsatisfying pluralism of the khandha's and dhamma's. Here he was at least as a unity (genus) to a plurality.

In the fourth book, *Designations of Man*,² we only find the 'five' given in the introductory exposition of the six sorts of 'designation'. They are not in the remainder of the work,—another posthumous revenge of the 'dead man' or self. In the fifth book, that, of the Debates, khandha-reference is little more than an aid to mere argument in words, not things.

I do not claim to have said here all that could be said on the history of the 'five', and certainly not the 'last word' about them. I claim only to have said enough to make future writers about early Buddhism more guarded than were their predecessors in concluding, that this unhappy ill-knit group ever belonged to the original gospel of the Man Gotama.

¹ Tr. as *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S., ed.

² *Puggala-Paññatti*, P.T.S., Trans. by B. C. Law.

A SUMERO-BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED AT MOHENJO-DARO

By C. L. FÁBRI

While publishing here my discovery of a Sumero-Babylonian inscription, found on a vessel at Mohenjo-daro, I wish to say at the very outset that this discovery, though undoubtedly of great interest and value for antiquarian research, cannot be, by any means, construed to be what is popularly called 'sensational'. The inscription is very short and does not solve (though it helps to a small degree in the solution of) the problem of the still undeciphered script of prehistoric India. On the other hand, it can be claimed that it is, undoubtedly, the *first* Sumero-Babylonian inscription discovered anywhere in Indian soil¹; and, what is still much more important, the shape of the Sumero-Babylonian characters *allows us to date this inscription with much more accuracy than it was possible so far to date any one object found at any Indus Valley site*. It will be seen, that this date, corroborating the evidence accumulated by Mr. GADD and others, is definitely somewhat younger than the one originally suggested by the first pioneers of Mohenjo-daro excavations. No one ever suggested, not even Sir John MARSHALL and Dr. MACKAY, that those dates were certain and accurate; and Dr. MACKAY himself, without a knowledge of this Sumero-Babylonian inscription, came lately to the conclusion that the dates suggested in *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* were somewhat high. The difference is not much, but every fresh evidence points to the necessity of bringing the date of the Indus Civilization down to 2500-2700 B.C. at most. No one, of course, can guess or say how far back that civilization reaches; all we can say at present is the probable date of the materials *now in hand*. As will be seen in my exposition below, I myself believe in a great antiquity preceding Mohenjo-daro. That, however, is guesswork and mere belief; and here we are concerned with facts in hand.

Although much has been written on the subject of the Indus Script and on the interrelation of prehistoric city-civilizations of

¹ The lamented late R. B. HIRA LAL published in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar* (2nd ed., 1932) a Babylonian seal (pp. x-xi, plate), from about 2000 B.C. As he distinctly states, the seal was found in the Nagpur Museum and no one knows where it was found. It may have been deposited there by an Officer returned from Mesopotamia.

western and middle Asia,¹ I do not wish to refer here but to two publications of the utmost importance for this study. The first is Mr. GADD's lecture: *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur*, published in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVIII (1932), 22 pages, three plates. The other is Dr. H. FRANKFORT's article: *The Indus Civilization and the Near East*, published in the Kern Institute's *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1932*, pp. 1-12, plate I. My friend Dr. FRANKFORT in this article, the excellence and importance of which I cannot enough impress upon my readers, makes a single mistake which I feel bound to correct here with the exclamation *errare humanum est*. Dr. FRANKFORT says that Mr. GADD's above-mentioned article deals with Indian seals found in the excavations at Ur *alone*, and that not one of these objects was properly datable. Both statements require correction, and are due, no doubt, to the fact that Dr. FRANKFORT was unable to have the relevant article in hand when writing his paper. Mr. GADD's article deals, notwithstanding the wrong title of his paper, with seals found at various places in Mesopotamia; and four at least of the seals are very well datable and dated (none of them older by any means than 2800 B.C.), whilst there is a considerable amount of justification to date another two or three as belonging to the same period. The importance of these facts is so great that I could not pass it without referring the reader back to Mr. GADD's original paper. Nevertheless, I am glad to admit that Dr. FRANKFORT's own evidence is of even greater weight. He found a considerable number of undoubtedly Indus Valley objects during his excavations of Tell Asmar in houses the date of which is proved by a really imposing wealth of evidence. These houses date, without a shadow of doubt, from the time of the Dynasty of Akkad, which is about 2500 B.C. (The date given to Sargon by LANGDON, *i.e.* 2872 B.C., has been brought down by the same scholar in the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* to 2752; but even this date is considered to be too high by other authorities, and the general tendency now is to accept FRANKFORT's 'about 2500' as nearest to truth). I cannot sufficiently strongly recommend to readers to read Dr. FRANKFORT's article, if they have not yet done so. It will be evident to all intelligent readers that the learned Dutch scholar's conclusions are thoroughly convincing.

It thus appears that a fair number of objects made in the cities of prehistoric India about 2500-2700 B.C. have reached

¹ Cp. *e.g.* my article: *Latest Attempts to read the Indus Script*. *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51-56.

by one way or the other the contemporaries of Mesopotamia. Whether it was by trade or conquest, mere intercourse or racial relationship, by sea route or by land roads: we do not know and it is no good guessing at it. All we know is that Indian objects have reached Mesopotamia, and that, consequently, we can expect to find Mesopotamian objects in India.

There is, therefore, no miracle about finding a Sumero-Babylonian inscription at Mohenjo-daro. It was just what all of us expected. Nevertheless, it is very satisfactory, indeed, to find the first proof on this side, and, what is more satisfactory, to find that this inscription again corroborates the dates arrived at by other students.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY.

The Director General of Archæology in India, Mr. J. F. BLACKISTON, has sent me to Mohenjo-daro in order to accomplish there a task during which I had to handle every single object (there are 37,000 objects) found by the excavators, sometimes as many as four or five times. I believe that these eight months spent in the close study of such a magnificent material have enabled me to get better acquainted with the objects than previous scholars who had many other tasks on their hands. It is, consequently, not surprising at all that I succeeded in discovering among the many thousands of pottery vessels a large number of inscribed pots and jars. So far about a dozen incized inscriptions have been published by the writers of the first monograph on Mohenjo-daro and by Dr. MACKAY whose second volume, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, now in the Press, I had the privilege of seeing in proofs. The number of inscribed (incized) pottery I have been fortunate enough to find, is forty-two. Besides, five pots with seal-impressions have been published by Sir John MARSHALL in the first monograph, and another two are mentioned in Dr. MACKAY's forthcoming volume. Instead of these seven inscribed (impressed) pots I have found twenty-four pots with seal-impressions. Altogether, thus, I collected 66 inscriptions, incized or impressed, on pottery.

I found this material interesting enough for a close study, and, with the intention of publishing the entire series, I collected first of all the pots with seal-impressions and started copying in a black-and-white pen-drawing the actual texts. It was then that pottery jar Hr 909 came into my hand (see Plate I, *a*). As soon as I looked at it, my first thought was, This is not in the Indus script. One instant later I realized that it cannot be anything but a Sumero-Babylonian text. Five minutes of search in MERCER's *Sumero-Babylonian Sign List* gave me the clue. I made three tentative

translations, and submitted my whole material to Dr. Franz M. Th. BÖHL, the world-famous Assyriologist of Leyden University, Holland. I am glad to say that this learned specialist entirely endorsed my identifications and translations ; and the following results are partly based on his very valued expert opinion. I wish, therefore, to thank him for his kind co-operation in this matter, without which my identifications would be considered much less reliable. However much interested I am in the culture of Western Asia, my studies were, for these last eight years, more concerned with the art and pure archæology of those countries than with linguistics and palæography. And although I feel glad that this time I did hit on the right identification and translations, yet I would not dare to publish my discovery without the consent and approval of an expert who has spent all his life in the specialized study of Sumerian and Assyrian texts. As I have pointed out to Professor BÖHL, it is not difficult, even with a scant knowledge of Assyrian script, to find the corresponding signs in the Sign List ; but what is far more difficult, is to find the correct translation. There are signs in the Sumerio-Babylonian script (this *ad usum delphini*) which may be interpreted in four and five ways, meaning utterly different words or syllables ; many signs can be interpreted both as an ideogram (meaning an entire word) or as a syllable sign. The longer and the more complete the text, the easier the identification ; the shorter the text, the more difficult to know whether a sign is an ideogram or a syllable sign. As will be seen, in our case both explanations are equally possible, and Professor BÖHL, though inclined to accept one explanation as more likely, gives the same three possible translations as suggested by me.

THE INSCRIPTION.

The inscription is impressed on the shoulder of the jar and is clearly visible in parts, though, unfortunately, the lower portion (which, in the right direction, is really the upper edge) is very faint. The impression is reversed, *i.e.* upside down. There are about a dozen other seal-impressions in this reversed way (in the Indus Valley script), which proves that the potter was illiterate and didn't know how to impress the seal. I am, therefore, publishing the slightly enlarged photograph of the inscription (Plate I, *b*) reversed, as it should be read.

It will be immediately seen by all who are well acquainted with the Indus Valley script that the characters are entirely unknown. *Neither the whole, nor the first or the second half of the inscription can possibly be identified with any sign in the Indus script, whether we look at it upside-down or reversed.*

The full form, when completed, would appear to be like this :

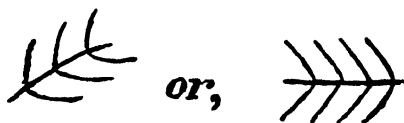


The strokes, it will be seen, are half-way, or perhaps three-quarters way, to become wedge-shaped, or cuneiform. Yet it cannot be said that they are already thoroughly cuneiform ; a script, which in its full development was exclusively used round the year 2500 B.C. The oldest monuments of Sumerian go back to the fourth millennium, perhaps to about 4500 B.C., and are purely ideographs ; round the year 3000 they already start the development which ultimately leads to cuneiform shapes ; but the corresponding signs in question can easily be shown to have a distinctly ideographic character round 2800, especially the sign for 'barley' and 'reed' mentioned in more detail below ; so that *it is quite safe to say that this shape of characters cannot be older than 2800 by any means, and that it is much more likely that it belongs to a period not far removed from 2500 B.C.* Perhaps we are very near the truth when we date it as *circa 2600 B.C.*

THE SUMERO-BABYLONIAN EQUIVALENTS.

There are three different signs in the Sumero-Babylonian syllabary with which we can compare our Mohenjo-daro inscription. Starting with the older explanations, we have first the ideogrammatic forms '72 *qa* (or, *sila*) *še*' and the other ideogram '*gi*'. Finally, if explained as a numeral, which is the most likely, it may mean '200'. All three identifications are equally possible.

(1) The oldest sign for *še*, meaning 'barley' is nothing but a simple picture-sign representing the cereal :



In later times the simple strokes become more and more wedge-shaped, so that ultimately the shape of this sign is as follows, adding the two perpendicular strokes, which we shall explain presently :



The second form actually occurs with half-circles, in much later times, at the time of Hammurabi. The horizontal stroke is sometimes left away.

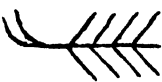
As to the two perpendicular strokes, each stroke means at this period 36 *qa* (or *sila*). The *qa* or *sila* is a capacity measure corresponding to 0·4 litre, so that each stroke means 14·4 litres, and the whole text can be translated as '28·8 litres of barley', or, '72 *sila* of barley'.

The absolute identity of the Sumero-Babylonian signs reproduced above with the Mohenjo-daro inscription must strike everyone as past possible doubts. Yet the *translation* as given here, leaves a certain amount of doubt. The vessel in question is far too small to contain 28·8 litres of barley. There is, of course, a sign, used up to the time of the First Babylonian dynasty where one stroke meant *one qa* only, and this would be a very suitable amount to fill the capacity of the vessel before us. I find the reference to this sign on p. 227 of MERCER's *Sign List*, and if I gave above the explanation '36 *qa*', I did so in deference to Professor BÖHL, who suggested that capacity measure. The fact is that the perpendicular stroke, according to the *List*, meant at different periods 36 *qa*, 60 *gur*, 60 *qa* and 1 *qa*, and I feel unable to find a satisfactory solution. Evidently, the explanation as *one qa* would be the most acceptable one. In this case, the translation would run :

'2 *qa* of barley' (i.e., 0·8 litre of barley).

Finally, the possibility must not be excluded that a potter, illiterate and unable to distinguish between various seals, has impressed the wrong seal upon a vessel. This, however, is mere conjecture.

(2) The second ideogrammatic explanation identifies our Mohenjo-daro sign with the Sumerian word *gi*, meaning 'reed'. The following is the development of this sign from the oldest picture-sign to the time of Urukagina (c. 2600 B.C.) :



Jemdet Nasr.



Eannatum.



Urukagina
c. 2600 B.C.

The horizontal stroke may cross both perpendicular ones, or only one, or none. The identity of the last, cuneiform sign with our seal-impression is again evident.

Yet, one must ask, what can we do with the translation 'reed'? Evidently, such an inscription is most unlikely, if not impossible, on a pottery jar.

THE EXPLANATION AS A NUMERAL SIGN.

Both explanations, similar though they are in their shapes, are not very satisfactory. Professor BÖHL, actually rejects the first one too, although he admits the absolute identity of the Mohenjodaro signs with those mentioned by me above. As I said, the first explanation would, however, be quite possible if the numeral signs would not mean 36 but only 1 *qa* each. However, the most obvious identification is with the Sumer-Babylonian numeral sign for 200. As Professor BÖHL writes: '... die Deutung als *Ziffer 200* (ist) sicher möglich! Und das ist mein erster Gedanke gewesen, als ich Ihre Kopie sah'. ('The explanation as the numeral 200 is certainly possible! And this was my very first thought when I saw your copy').

The two horizontal strokes mean in this combined sexagesimal-decimal system twice 60; and, as Professor BÖHL says, it does not matter that the strokes have a small hook-like ending at the bottom. Each of the half-circles which later developed into wedge-shaped forms, above and below the horizontal stroke, mean 10, altogether, thus, 80; this added to twice 60 makes 200. The shape of 200 in later times is as follows:



With, or without horizontal stroke, this sign, thus means '2 × 60 and 80, i.e. 200'.

'This solution', writes Professor BÖHL, 'appears to me to be the most probable one: thus, Pot Nr 200, or 200, as a somehow important number in the decimal system which, if I remember well, is the customary ope at Mohenjodaro'.

NUMERALS IN OTHER POTTERY INSCRIPTIONS.

There is a very weighty argument to support this identification. It is a curious fact that out of the 66 pottery inscriptions discovered

by me *there is hardly an inscription which does not contain a numeral, and, moreover, about one third of these inscriptions consists of nothing but numerals!* The rest usually contain a numeral with one or a few pictographs only. It is, consequently, perfectly clear that *in the Indus Valley there was a custom of writing on pots numbers or inscriptions in which numerals played a very important part.* And, consequently, it is evident, that both the explanations given above for this Sumerian inscription as '36 (or 2) *qa* of barley' and '200', are, indeed, quite probable, and they conform with the other 66 inscriptions in the Indus Valley script which either mean just a numeral, or a numeral with a word or two following it.

This is an important and logical conclusion, and of great value in the deciphering of the pottery inscriptions in the Indus Script which I have attacked already with some success. I hope to publish my results in that direction very soon.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDUS CITIES.

As already mentioned above, the identification of this inscription with the corresponding Sumero-Babylonian signs is not difficult at all; it is only its translation that offers some margin of variations in opinion. I hope that I have also made it clear that the shape of our inscription can under no circumstances be older than 2800 B.C., but that it is much more likely to be nearer 2600 B.C. It can be said, without any exaggeration, that *this is the only well dated object so far excavated in the Indus cities*, and that no other object is known where outside evidence is as strong as in this case. This object alone would suffice, thus, to prove that Mohenjo-daro, as so far excavated, is not as old as the first pioneers guessed. Indeed, it can be safely said that there has not been found any object in the excavations at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhudaro that can possibly be older than 2800.

I have already mentioned Mr. GADD's article. It may as well be stated here that all the Indus Valley seals the find-place of which in Iraq can be ascertained, have been found in layers which are, under no circumstances, older than 2800; indeed, the most striking and most convincing lot of Indus objects discovered by Dr. FRANKFORT at Tell Asmar were found in a house the date of which is perfectly well ascertained to be round 2500 B.C.

One of the reasons why Sir John MARSHALL's first tentative dates are now found to be slightly high is that the learned author based his comparisons with Mesopotamia on the dates suggested by Dr. (now Sir) Leonard WOOLLEY. These dates were as tentative

ones as the Mohenjo-daro dates. The entire chronology of Western Asian prehistory was just then, between 1920 and 1932, in the melting pot. Sir Leonard WOOLLEY's excavations at Ur, the vast amount of work done at Kish and many other places in Mesopotamia, brought to light almost every month, if not every week, new data, names of new kings, lists of dynasties, hundreds of texts with historical references and altogether such a huge mass of material that not even the greatest expert could find his way in this maze of stuff. The best example is the *Cambridge Ancient History*. In the first edition, published in 1923, there was a complete (tentative) chronology; but a few years later, in the second edition, a sheet has been attached explaining that almost all the dates previous to 2200 B.C. have been entirely revised and corrected by Professor LANGDON. There was formerly what Dr. CONTENAU, the great French scholar, called '*la chronologie courte*' and '*la chronologie longue*'. When he writes, in 1927, he already says: '*La chronologie longue est à peu près abandonnée aujourd'hui.*' (The long chronology is almost given up nowadays). The difficulties become greater the farther we go back in history. Up to the year 2200 the dates are really reliable. Up to 2500-2600 the margin of error is small, and will diminish, as research proceeds, to negligible quantities. But when we reach to the hoary ages round 3000 and even older, the dynastic lists begin to get so complicated that it is most difficult to find one's way among them. Here it may occur that the period of a king, which was probably six or seven years, is given as 360 or 420 years. Kings, who reigned according to some lists as long as a thousand years or more, are common. In later periods, between 2700 and 2000, the names of all the kings and their approximate ruling periods are well ascertained; but in older times there are dynastic lists that overlap; and one of the main causes of former errors was that dynasties were first understood to have ruled one *after* the other, whilst later it appeared that they were ruling at the same period in different city-states.

I mentioned all this at some length in order to show to some of my Indian colleagues who may not be aware of the latest developments in Western Asian prehistory, how great the difficulties were that confronted those who tried to give an approximate chronology to Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. They were dependent upon dates which were vague and uncertain themselves. Far from blaming them I thoroughly understand that *at that time no one could have given a better chronology* than what the learned authors of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* arrived at. I am also exceedingly glad to say that, entirely independently from my conclusions, Dr. MACKAY arrived lately to exactly the same results. When I

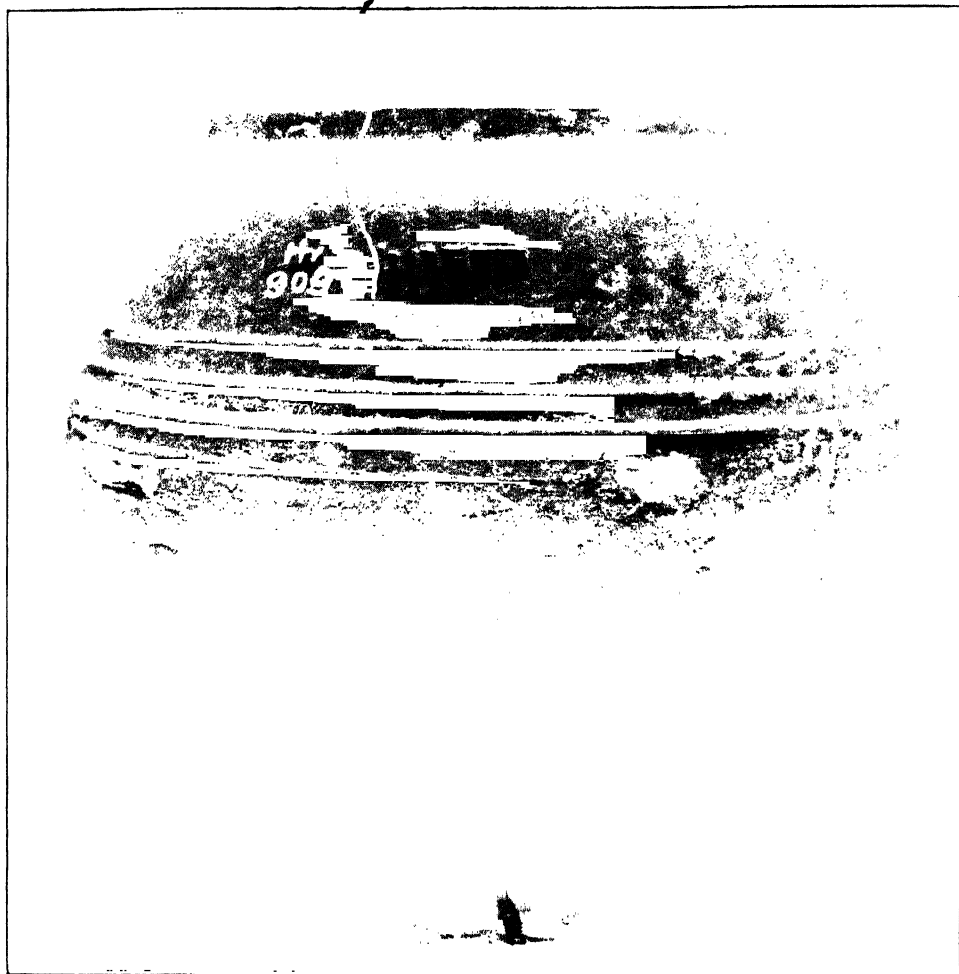
last had the privilege of talking with him, after his excavations at Chanhu-daro, he also insisted on it that there is no single object found in the 'Indus Culture' which one could date as older than 2800. Indeed, according to Dr. MACKAY, the date of Mohenjo-daro lies between 2500 and 2700 at most ; but probably it may come down to 2300 in the upper layers of Chanhu-daro.

I am aware of the fact that some of my respected Indian colleagues, spurred by the very noble motive of nationalist pride, have claimed that 'India is the cradle of civilization'. I wish to say, that however respectful the motives are, they are apt to lead away from strictly scientific principles. There is, for one thing, no such thing as the 'cradle' of civilization, and there never will be found such a thing. Man's cradle rocked, so to say, between 500,000 B.C., when he climbed down the tree and started living in caves, and 10,000 B.C., when he was able to make handy stone implements. Thousands of years elapsed before Mohenjo-daro, and those who would like to find the cradle of mankind, better would go to the first Zoological Garden and visit the cages of the noble gorilla or the awe-inspiring orang-utang.

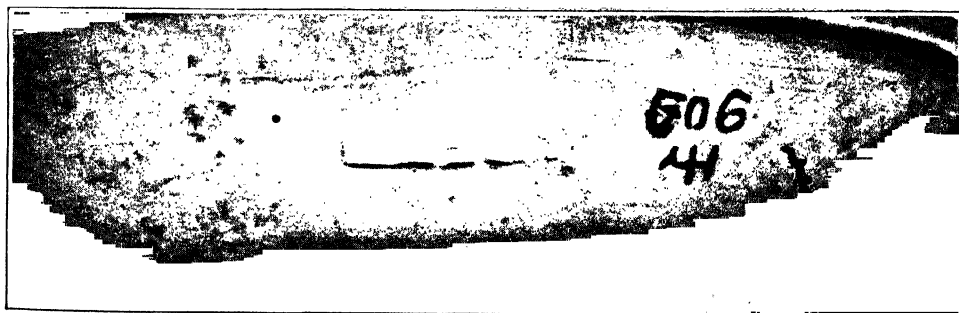
So far as *urban* civilization is concerned, the cities of Iraq are by far older than anything so far found in India. In Egypt and in China as well as in Iraq, there was a very highly developed civilization round 4000 B.C., that is, some 1,500 years earlier than Mohenjo-daro.

Yet, perhaps, ultimately my Indian friends will not be found to be far removed from truth. For, after all, who knows what lies in the earth ? Mohenjo-daro has not been dug up, but just scratched. There is work there for another twenty-five years for anyone who can produce the money. Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR has found scores of ancient sites in Sindh, and Sir Aurel STEIN again found scores of ancient sites in Baluchistan. No one has excavated these, and no one can say how many much older layers there may lie under that soil. It is a fact that the remains *so far excavated* are not older than 2700 ; but it is also a fact that the civilization reflected in these finds is a really high, well-developed civilization which presupposes a development of many thousands of years. And it is an individual, independent civilization. Although there are numerous points of contact showing intercourse between India and Mesopotamia and the ancient civilization of Crete, yet there are also at least as many divergences as there are similarities. This prehistoric Indian civilization could not have had its origin in any of those countries, the earlier civilizations of which, going back to about 4000 B.C., we know pretty well. Consequently, this Indian civilization may have had its origin in India itself.

The answer is not found in the reading-room or the study, at the light of a friendly lamp. The answer will be found in no speculation or guess-work, but in the field. Excavation alone and excavation alone can bring further information. Conjectures are pleasant plays of man's imagination. But archæology is physical digging first of all. Books can lie, and they often do. Dynastic lists can lie, and they often do. The only thing that cannot lie are objects. A barbarous object is the work of a barbarous mind, and an object of exquisite beauty is the mirror of a mind full of exquisite beauty. A civilization like that of Mohenjo-daro, cannot spring suddenly out of nothing. It has a history of thousands of years behind it, but, unfortunately, all this is hidden under the soil.



(a) Mohenjo-daro Vessel with Sumerian Inscription



USE AND ABUSE OF ALAMKARA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By V. RAGHAVAN

Poetry is not mere thought. 'While great poetry must necessarily embody it, very genuine poetry, at times, may do no more than give to the merest airy nothings a local habitation and a name.' 'Poetry does not reveal truth in logic but in light.'¹ Mere thoughts and emotions are proper subjects for the science of psychology, etc. Facts, by themselves are unattractive ; sometimes reality appals us ; but poets teach us as they charm :

शास्त्रेषु दुर्गहोऽप्यर्थः सदते कविसूक्तिषु ।

हृद्यं करगतं रत्नं दारुणं प्रणिमूर्धनि ॥

—Nilakanṭhadikṣita, Sabhārañjanaśataka.

Darśana has to wait for Varṇana.² It is wrong to regard poetry as merely truth or noble emotion. Who can deny the validity of the statement—

गोरपथं बलीर्वदः दृष्टान्यत्ति मुखेन सः ?

Yet, is it poetry ? Are there not hunger and suffering in the poor Brahmins' plea to the king—

भोजनं देहि राजेन्द्र दृढसूयसमन्वितम् ।

Yet, the king refused to help them and the story goes on to say that the king gave them presents only on seeing the other half, filled, the story says, by Kālidāsa, with the extravagant plumes of figurative language.

माहिषं च शरच्चन्द्रचन्द्रिकाधवलं दधि ॥

True, as Leigh Hunt says, there are simplest truths often so beautiful and impressive that one of the greatest proofs of the poet's genius consists in leaving them to stand alone, illustrated by nothing

¹ Quotations of this nature occurring in this paper are chiefly from five works, Raymond, 'Poetry as a Representative Art', Lamborn, 'The Essentials of Criticism', Bain, 'Rhetoric and Composition' and Tagore 'Creative Unity' and 'Personality'.

but the (light) of their own tears or smiles, their own wonder, might or playfulness. But, as he himself points out elsewhere, 'in poetry, feeling and imagination are necessary to the perception and presentation even of matters of fact'. The so-called figure of natural description, the Svabhāvokti, is a plain statement only in a comparative degree. The Veda can claim 'Svataḥ Prāmāṇya', but there is nothing like 'Svataḥkāvyatva'. Plain fact is always embellished in some manner and given some catching power. Who can refuse to recognise the difference between a proposition like 'जतोऽस्तमेकः' and this Svabhāvokti of Kālidāsa :

‘निष्कंपदक्षं निभृतदिरेपं मूकायुजं शान्तमृगप्रचारम् ।’—K.S., III.

Even the natural description of a poet has its strikingness ; Bāṇa says that Jāti must be Agrāmya, नवोऽर्थो जातिरग्राम्या (Harṣacarita). Bald statements are thus excluded. Bhāmaha also excludes ordinari-ness in expression in his description of poetry :

अग्राम्यशब्दमर्थं च सालङ्कारं सदाश्रयम् ।

अलङ्कारवदग्राम्यं अर्थं न्याय्यमनाकुलम् ।

So poetry requires not only fact but a beautiful form also ; it has not only to be useful, but primarily attractive. That all poetic expression involves some kind of expressional deviation of beauty,¹ some out-of-the-way-ness, is well brought out by the following verse of Nīlakaṇṭha dīkṣita.

यानेव शब्दान्वयमालपातः यानेव चार्थान्वयमुल्लिखामः ।

तैरेव विन्यासविशेषभयैः संमोहयन्ते कवयो जगन्ति ॥

—Śivalīlārṇava, Canto I.

This expressional deviation, this striking disposition of words and ideas, is Alamkāra ; this constitutes the beautiful poetic form. It will be easier to dissociate love from its physical aspect than to keep the concept of poetry aloof from its form.

If we try to arrive at a clear definition of poetry with an objective differentia, certainly the definition will revolve round the concept of Alamkāra, the word Alamkāra being taken here in the widest sense of that term in which Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana understood it. Alamkāra is the beautiful in poetry, the beautiful form,—सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः

¹ Cf. Bāṇ : 'A figure of speech is a deviation from the plain and ordinary mode of speaking, for the sake of greater effect : it is an unusual form of speech'. Rhetoric and Composition, I.

(Vāmana). Examining the field of poetic expression, Bhāmaha found Alamkāra omnipresent in it. When we reach the stage of Appayya dikṣita, who has given as many as one hundred and twenty-five Alamkāras, we see that the whole range of poetry is 'Vyāpta' with Alamkāra in general, is 'Avinābhūta' with Alamkāra. And to this numberlessness of Alamkāra, Ānanda refers to :

‘वाच्यलङ्कारवर्गश्च रूपकादिर्वैवानुक्तः वक्ष्यते च कैश्चित्, अलङ्काराणामनन्तत्वात् ।
(Locana adds here, प्रतिभानन्यादिति), Dhva. Ā., p. 88. Mahimabhattacha says : ‘अलङ्काराणां च अभिधात्मत्वं उपगतं, तेषां भङ्गिभणितिरूपत्वात् ।’ V.V., p. 3, T.S.S. ‘भङ्गिभणितिभेदानामेव अलङ्कारत्वोपगमात् ।’ Ibid. II, p. 87. ‘चातुर्वर्त्यं हि वैचित्र्यापरपर्यायं प्रकाशमानमलंकारः ।’ ‘चातुर्वर्त्यमलंकारः ।’ Commentary on the V.V., p. 4, T.S.S. : ‘तथा च शब्दार्थयोर्विच्छित्तिरलङ्कारः ।’ Ibid., p. 44. Namisādhū also says ‘ततो यावन्तो हृदयावर्जका अर्थप्रकारास्तावन्तो-ज्जङ्काराः ।’ Vyā. on Rudraṭa, p. 149. Ānanda has this further remark—
‘तत् (रस) प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयो ज्जङ्काराः ।’ p. 87. If Alamkāra is understood in this large sense as emphasising the need for a beautiful form in poetry, it is not very improper for the subject of poetics to be called Alamkāraśāstra.¹

Thus, Alamkāra, properly understood and properly employed, can hardly be a subject for wholesale condemnation. This is said not only in view of the large sense in which we have tried to explain it above. Taking the figures as such, the best definition we can give of them is that, in a great poet, they form the inevitable incarnations in which ideas embody themselves. Says Ānanda :

‘अलङ्कारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेः
अहंपूर्विकाया परापतन्ति । × × × युक्तं चैतत् । यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेव
आक्षेप्यताः, तद्वतिपादकैश्च शब्दैः, तद्वतिपादिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयो ज्जङ्काराः ।’
Dhva. Ā., p. 87. Such figures can hardly be considered ‘Bahiraṅga’ in Kāvya, and comparable only to the ‘Kaṭaka’ and ‘Keyūra’, the removable ornament. Therefore Ānanda continues : ‘तस्मान्न
तेषां बहिरङ्गत्वं रसाभिधत्तौ ।’ p. 87. They should properly be compared to the Alamkāras of damsels which Bharata speaks of under Sāmānyābhinaya, Bhāva, Hāva, etc. and not to the Kaṭaka and Keyūra. (N.Ś., XXII, K.M. edn.)²

¹ Vide J.O.R., Madras, Vol. VIII, pp. 129-130, my Note on the Names of the Alamkāraśāstra.

² There is the ‘Alamkāra’ in Music also, with which profitable comparison can be made here but for the fact of the obscurity of the concept in early music

Ānanda says in Udyota II that, though Ālāṃkāras are only the Śarīra, the outer body, they can be made the Śarīrin, the soul, sometimes, i.e., when Ālāṃkāras are not expressed but suggested ; when simile, contrast, etc. are richly imbedded in an utterance and in the clash of words in an expression, Ālāṃkāras shoot out.

शरीरीकरणं येषां वाचत्वेन व्यवस्थितम् ।

तेऽलंकाराः परां ह्यायां यान्ति ध्वन्यङ्गतां गताः ॥ ¹—II, 29, p. II7.

Here Abhinava says : As a matter of fact, Ālāṃkāras are external ornaments on the body but can sometimes be like the Kuṅkuma smeared for beauty on the body, when they are organic and structural, when they are रसाक्षिप्त, अपृथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्य and सुश्लिष्ट. Far, far away is the hope to make this Ālāṃkāra the very soul. But even this is possible in a way, says Ānanda : just as in the mere play of children, there is some temporary greatness for the child which plays the rôle of the king, so also, when this Ālāṃkāra is suggested, it attains great beauty and partakes of the nature of the soul.

‘एतदुक्तं भवति—सुकविः विदग्धपुरन्ध्रवत् भूषणं यद्यपि श्लिष्टं योजयति, तथापि शरीरतापत्तिरेवास्य कष्टसंपाद्या, कुकुमपीतिकाया इव । आत्मतायास्तु का संभावना । एवंभूता चेयं व्यंग्यता, यदप्रधानभूतापि वाच्यमात्रालंकारेभ्यः उत्कर्षमलंकाराणां वितरति । बालक्रीडायामपि राजत्वमिवैवमुपमं मनसि कृत्वाह—तत्रेति ।’—Locana, pp. II7-II8.

It must be noted here that Abhinava compares the Suśliṣṭa Ālāṃkāra to Kuṅkumālāṃkaraṇa, and raises it above the level of the altogether external jewel worn, the Kaṭaka. Bhoja realised the insufficiency of the comparison with Kaṭaka. Ālāṃkāra as ornament of a woman also was understood by Bhoja in a large sense. Bhoja classified Ālāṃkāras into those of Śabda, Bāhya, those of Artha, Ābhyantara and those of both Śabda and Artha, Bāhyābhyantara. The first, the most external, the verbal figure of Śabdālāṃkāra, Bhoja compared to dressing, garlanding and wearing Kaṭaka, etc. The third, he compared to bath, treating the hair to fragrant smoke, smearing the body with Kuṅkuma, Candana, etc. Beginning from outside, these are more intimate with the body. The second, the purely Ābhyantara Ālāṃkāras, the Arthālāṃkāras, Bhoja compared to cleaning and dressing the teeth, manicuring, dressing the

literature and the changes in meaning the concept underwent in its later history. (N.Ś., K.M. edn., XXIX, 22-31.)

¹ On the greater beauty of the implied or suggested figure as compared to the expressed figure, see further Ānanda, III, 37, p. 207 and Mahimā, V.V., p. 73.

hair itself, etc. These last are most intimate ; nothing not forming part at all of the body is here superimposed.¹

‘अलङ्काराश्च त्रिधा, — बाह्याः, आभ्यन्तराः, बाह्याभ्यन्तराश्च । तेषु बाह्याः—वस्त्र-माल्य-विभूषणादयः । आभ्यन्तराः— दन्तपरिकर्म-नखच्छेद-अलङ्कारकल्पनादयः । बाह्याभ्यन्तराः— ज्ञान-धूप- (विलेपनादयः) etc.’—Śṛṅgārāprakāśa.

Albeit the importance of form, one should not misunderstand rhetoric as poetry. It is possible to sacrifice poetry at the altar of figure. There is such a thing as Aucitya, appropriateness, harmony and proportion, which is the ultimate beauty in poetry. The final ground of reference for this Aucitya, the thing with reference to which we shall speak of other things as being appropriate, is the soul of poetry, Rasa. The body becomes a carcass when there is no soul there, when life is absent from it. Of what use are ornaments on a carcass ? Nilakaṇṭha dikṣita says :—

अन्योन्यसंसर्गविशेषरम्याप्यलङ्कतिः प्रत्युत शोचनीया ।

निर्व्यग्यसारे कविस्तुक्तिबन्धे निष्क्रान्तजीवे वपुषीव दत्ता ॥

—Śivalilārṇava, I, 36.

Kṣemendra, the systematiser of Aucitya, says : ‘ Enough with Alamkāras ; of what use are the Guṇas if there is no life there ? Ornaments are ornaments ; excellences are excellences ; but Aucitya is the life of the Rasa-ensouled Kāvya :

‘ काव्यस्यालमलङ्कारैः किं मिथ्यागणितैर्गुणैः ।

यस्य जीवितमौचित्यं विचिन्त्यापि न दृश्यते ॥

अलङ्कारास्त्वलङ्काराः गुणा एव गुणास्त्वदा ।

औचित्यं रससिद्धस्य स्थिरं काव्यस्य जीवितम् ॥ ’

—Au. v. c., 4 and 5.

See also the Vṛtti on these.

Here Kṣemendra has only amplified Abhinava and Ānanda who say :

‘ तथा हि अचेतनं शवशरीरं कुण्डलाद्युपेतमपि न भाति, अलङ्कार्यस्याभावात् । यति-शरीरं कटकादियुक्तं हास्यावहं भवति अलङ्कार्यस्य अनौचित्यात् । ’—Locana, p. 75.

‘ अनौचित्यादृते नान्यत् रसभङ्गस्य कारणम् ।

प्रसिद्धौचित्यबन्धस्तु रसस्योपनिषत्परा ॥ ’—Dhva. Ā., p. 145.

¹ Cf. Abhinava: ‘ येषामलङ्काराणां वाच्यत्वेन शरीरीकरणं शरीरभूतात् प्रस्तुतादृशत् अर्थान्तर-भूततया अशरीराणां कटकादिस्थानोयानां शरीरस्थानापादनं × × × × । ’

What is this Aucitya ? It is the clear statement of the proper place and function of Alamkāra, as of other elements.

‘उचितं प्राङ्गाराचार्याः सदृशं किल यस्य यत् ।

× × × ×

उचितस्थानविन्यासादलङ्घतिरलङ्घतिः ।

अलङ्घतिः उचितस्थानविन्यासादलङ्घतुं क्षमा भवति । अन्यथा तु अलङ्घतिव्यपदेश-
मेव लभते । × × × × यदाह— ।

कण्ठे मेखलया नितम्बफलके तारेण हारेण वा

× × × ×

× × नायान्ति के हास्यतां

औचित्येन विना रुचिं प्रतनुते नालङ्घतिर्नो गुणः ॥¹—Au. v. c.

Thus Alamkāras have their meaning only if they keep to their places :

‘ध्वन्यात्मभूते प्रदंगारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।

रूपकादिरलङ्कारवर्गं एति यथार्थताम् ॥’—Dhva. Ā., II, 18.

Just as a pearl-garland can beautify only a full bosom, and otherwise cannot be a beautifying factor, only an Alamkāra appropriate to Artha and through it, to Rasa, can be of any beauty.

‘अर्थौचित्यवता सूक्तिरलङ्कारेण शोभते ।

पौनस्तनस्थितेनेव हारेण हरिणेक्षणा ॥’—Au. v. c.

Ksemendra proceeds to show how some poets have observed this rule of Aucitya for Alamkāra and how some have not. He points out the conceptual flaws in the latter, going against the main subject and sentiment. The Pratyudāharāṇas are cases of abuses in so far as the authors of those verses have written those figures with an effort, merely because they desired to add figures. When the great poet is concentrating on Rasa, when he is a ‘रससमाहितचेताः’, the sense of harmony and appropriateness attends on him, innate

¹ Vide Journal of the Madras University, Vol. VI, No. 1 and Vol. VII, No. 1. My paper on Aucitya.

औचित्यमेकमेकं गुणानां राशिरुक्तः ।

विषयते गुणग्रामः औचित्यपरिवर्जितः ॥

—Quoted by Muniandrācārya in his Vṛtti on the Dharma binduprakaraṇa, Āgamodaya Series Edn., p. 11a.

in him like instinct ; there is hardly any room for impropriety. But when concentration is on figure, error creeps in. We shall consider two examples :—The broken minister of the Nandas, stealing into the enemy's city over which he had once ruled like a king, looking like a serpent stilled by incantation (भोगौव मन्त्रौषधिरुद्धवीर्यः) and consumed by his own inner fire, sees a dilapidated garden and describes it :

विपर्यस्तं सौधं कुलमिव महारंभरचनम्
सरः शुष्कं साधोर्हृदयमिव नाशेन सुहृदाम् ।
फलैर्हीना वृक्षा विगुणवृत्तयोगादिव नयाः
दृश्यैश्चक्रा भूमिर्मतिरिव कुनीतैरबिदुषः ॥

—Mudrārākṣasa, VI, 11.

The plight of the garden resembles his own pitiable state and with great appropriateness in the conceiving of the similes, Viśākhadatta has drawn a mere description nearer to the context, harnessed it for Rasa and heightened the effect of the situation.¹ On the contrary, we shall now cite a verse from the Bhoja Campū where the poet has created a figure not only not in harmony with the main idea and the context but also so inappropriate as to make, as Kṣemendra says, the hearts of the Sahṛdayas shrink.

वाणीविलासमपरत्र कृतोपलभं
चंभोजभूरसहमान इवाविरासीत् ।

There is Hetu-Utpreksā here : the poet imagines that Brahmā presented himself before the Ādikavi, as if jealous of the appearance of (his spouse) Vāṇī (speech or poesy) in another person. As a matter of fact, it is to bless and give Vālmīki his favour to sing the whole Rāmāyaṇa that the god descended.

One can make Alamkāra render the help its name means if he introduces it in such a manner as it will be conducive to the realisation of the chief object, namely Bhāva and Rasa ; that is, Alamkāra must be Rasabhāva-parā. That which is adorned by an Alamkāra is the Rasa. Even as the ordinary ornament, the jewels, putting them on or laying them down, suggest to us the mental state of the person,*so also does figure suggest the Bhāva.

¹ A similar instance of appropriateness of figurative description is Bāṇa's description of the red evening and the approach of the night in which the king goes to help Bhairavācārya's Sādhana in the Śmaśāna.

रसभावादितात्पर्यमाश्रित्य विनिवेशनं ।

अलङ्करीणां सर्वासामलङ्कारत्वसाधनम् ॥'—Dhva., II, 6.

‘उपमया यद्यपि वाच्योऽर्थोऽलङ्क्रियते, तथापि तस्य तदेवालङ्करणं, यद् व्यंग्यार्थाभिव्यञ्जन-सामर्थ्याधानमिति । वस्तुतो ध्वन्यात्मैव अलङ्कार्यः । कटककेयूरादिभिरपि हि शरीरसम-वायिभिः आत्मैव तत्तच्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषोचित्यसूचनात्मतया अलङ्क्रियते ।’—Locana, 74-5.

Thus whatever, remaining in a functionary place, aids to embellish and add to the main theme's beauty is Alamkāra. Rasa also can thus be employed as a decorative, as an Alamkāra, to adorn a Vastu (idea) or Rasa.¹

Raymond² expresses a similar opinion on Alamkāra : ‘The one truth underlying all the rules laid down for the employment of figures is that nothing is gained by any use of those which does not add to the effect of the thought to which they give expression. Language is to express our thoughts to others and in ordinary conversation, we use both plain and figurative language but when a man wants to give another the description of a scene he has seen, he does not catalogue one and all of the details of that sight, but brings only his own idea of the landscape by adding to such of the details as have struck him many more ideas and emotions that have been aroused in him.’ Thus he transports his mental image to the hearer and if the representation is comparatively plain, we have Svabhāvokti. ‘On the other hand, if he realises that it is hard for the hearer to understand him fully, he gains his end by repeating the statement, or by adding illustrative images to the mere enumeration of facts.’ [Compare Rudraṭa, VIII, 1.

सम्यक् प्रतिपादयितुं स्वरूपतो वस्तु तत्समानमिति ।

वस्वन्तरमभिदध्यात् वक्ता यस्मिंस्तदौपम्यम् ॥

‘Thus the poet puts extra force into his language and in order to do so, inasmuch as the force of language consists in its representative character, he will augment the representation by multiplying his comparisons : his language becomes figurative.’

From the verse of Rudraṭa quoted above, we see that a complex situation or an anxiety for clearer or more effective expression necessitates figures. Similarly a thought that is too simple, too ordinary or too small to impress or get admiration by itself, needs figurative embellishment. We shall consider this view of Ānanda-vardhana with his rules for the employment of these figures in

¹ Rasavad alamkāra. Locana, pp. 72, 73, 74.

² Poetry as a Representative Art.

such secondary and ordinary moods and thoughts. Even as he grants high flights in supreme moments, he grants even the bare Śabdacitra ample provision in Rasābhāsa. Heroic deeds, unselfish love, sacrifice—things great in themselves appeal to us even when directly expressed with minimum figure. But ordinary things must have purple patches.

All these facts about decoration by figure in poetry are realised by Ānanda who has formulated rules for the proper employment of Alamkāra. Western writers also have laid similar conditions regarding ornament. Pater says: 'And above all, there will be no uncharacteristic or tarnished or vulgar decoration, permissible ornament being for the most part structural or necessary'.¹ He continues: 'The artist, says Schiller, may be known by rather what he omits and in literature too, the true artist may be best recognised by his tact of omission. For, to the grave reader, words too are grave; and the ornamental word, the figure, the accessory form or colour or reference is rarely content to die to thought precisely at the right moment, but will inevitably be stirring a long "brain-wave" behind it of perhaps quite alien associations'. 'As the very word ornament indicates what is in itself non-essential, so the "one beauty" of all literary style is of its very essence and independent of all removable decoration; that it may exist in its fullest lustre in a composition utterly unadorned, with hardly a single suggestion of visibly beautiful things.' 'The ornaments are "diversions"—a narcotic spell on the pedestrian intelligence. We cannot attend to that figure—that flower there—just then—surplusage! For, in truth, all art consists in the removal of surplusage.'

Such strictures had to be passed by Ānanda also; for when he was thinking out the essence of poetry, Sanskrit poetry had deteriorated into an artificial stage. A gregarious tribe—Gaḍḍarikās as Abhinava says—was following a beaten path and was hardly proof to errors of taste. Not poetry, but the imitation thereof, was being assiduously produced. (न तन्मुखं काव्यं, काव्यानुकारो ह्यसौ.² Dhva. Ā., p. 220.) To guide such poets, not gifted with Śakti enough to possess an innate sense of Aucitya, Ānanda lays down his rules for the employment of Alamkāra. As has already been pointed out, Alamkāra is subordinate to Rasa; it has to aid the realisation of Rasa. It shall suit the Bhāva and be such as comes off to the poet along with the tide of the Rasa. It shall not monopolise the

¹ Style by W. Pater.

² As if translating Ānanda, Tolstoy calls bad Art 'Imitations of Art'. 'What is Art?', Ch. XI.

poet's energy nor shall it be so prominent or continued as to monopolise the reader's mind. Says Ānanda :

‘रसाक्षिप्ततया यस्य बन्धः शक्यक्रियो भवेत् ।

अप्रथग्यत्ननिर्वर्त्यः सोऽलंकारो ध्वनौ मतः ॥’¹

—Dhva. Ā., II, 17.

- (i) Alamkāra shall be intended to suggest Rasa.
- (ii) It shall be born along with the poet's delineation of Rasa.
- (iii) It shall be naturally and easily introduceable.
- (iv) The poet shall not stop to take a fresh and extra effort to effect it.

Such a figure is allowed as proper in Dhvani. This is the ‘permissible’ ‘structural’ figure that Pater speaks of. Such Alamkāra is born almost of itself; such is the poet's genius: when the figure is actually found there, it is a wonder. (निष्पत्ति-वाच्यभूतः—Ānanda, p. 83. प्रतिभानुग्रहवशात् स्वयमेव संपत्तौ निष्पादनान-पेक्षाथामित्यर्थः—Abhinava, p. 83, Locana.) This Alamkāra properly functions to heighten Rasa. For instance, in the verse: ‘कपोले पञ्चालौ करतलनिरोधेन मृदिता, etc.’² the Śaṭha Nāyaka who entreats the Khaṇḍita Nāyikā describes her anger as another lover who is dearer to her than himself, though he may fall at her feet even. In the last line here, there are Śleṣa, Rūpaka and Vyatireka Alamkāras, which, far from hindering the realisation of the Rasa of Īrṣyāvipralambha, intensify it.

Though a perusal of an Alamkāra text-book gives the impression that the Alamkāras are artificial, elaborate and intellectual exercises requiring great effort in turning them out precisely,—things that must rather be avoided than handled with all their ‘chidras’, they are not really so difficult of effecting for a masterpoet. With him, as emotion increases, expression swells and figures foam forth.

‘अलंकारान्तराणि हि निरूप्यमाणदुर्घटान्यपि रससमाहितचेतसः प्रतिभानवतः कवेः अहंपूर्विकया परापतन्ति । यथा कादम्बर्या कादम्बरौदर्शनावसरे ।’³

—Dhva. Ā., pp. 86-87.

¹ Bhoja also speaks of this Rasākṣipta and Apr̥thagyatnanirvartya Alamkāra in his S.K.Ā. (Ch. V) and Śr. Pra. (Ch. XI).

² See Dhva. Ā., p. 86.

³ Cf. ‘The more emotions grow upon a man, the more his speech; if he makes any effort to express his emotion, abounds in figures—exclamation, interrogation, anacoluthon, apostrophe, hyperbole (yes, certainly hyperbole!), simile, metaphor.

We have many instances in the Rāmāyaṇa where we clearly see this connection between emotion and figure, though not as a rule. There is at least a strong tendency to wax figurative in forceful modes. The description of lamenting Ayodhya on Bharata's return from the forest and Sītā's abuse of Rāvaṇa on seeing him out of his guise are two striking examples. There is, further, a tendency in the Rāmāyaṇa to employ figures profusely in descriptions. The opening canto of the Sundarakāṇḍa contains a figure in almost every verse, surcharged as the canto is with Adbhutarasa. To quote only one instance, we shall pick out this description of the broken Viśvāmitra from the Bālakāṇḍa :

‘ दृष्ट्वा विनाशितागुञ्जान् बलं च सुमहायशाः ।
सत्रीडस्त्रिन्तयाविष्टः विश्वामित्रोऽभवत्तदा ॥
समुद्र इव निर्वेगः भग्नदंष्ट्र इवोरगः ।
उपरक्त इवादित्यः सद्यो निष्प्रभतां गतः ॥
हतपुत्रबली दीनः लूनपक्ष इव द्विजः ।
हतदर्पो हतोत्साहः निर्वेदं समपद्यत ॥’

—Rā. Bā., 55. 8-10.¹

But there are also places in the epic of high strung emotion where figures are not employed at all and the sublimity or pathos of the situation (e.g. Rāma weeping on the loss of Sītā in the closing cantos of the Āraṇyakāṇḍa) is left to itself to appeal to us with its own grandeur and beauty.

In Kālidāsa, we have many instances of figures rushing to the poet's pen in moments of overflowing Rasa. Every line is a figure in Purūravas' description of Urvaśī who has captivated his heart, as he sees her slowly recovering from stupor :

‘ आविर्भूते शशिनि तमसा मुच्यमानेव रात्रिः
नैशस्थार्चिर्जितभुज इव च्छिन्नभूयिष्ठधूमा ।
मोहेनान्तर्वरतनुरिधं दृश्यते मुक्तकल्पा
गङ्गा रोधःपतनकलुषा गृह्णीतीव प्रसादम् ॥’—V.U., I.

His language is what we sometimes euphemistically describe as ‘picturesque’. Feelings swamp ideas and language is used to express not the reality of things but the state of one's emotions.’ J. S. Brown, ‘World of Imagery’. Quoted by K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar in his Imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa, J.O.R., Madras, Vol. III, pt. 4.

¹ Kumbhakonam Edn.

And in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, we have a similar situation with abundant figures. In the glee of his success, Cāṇakya exclaims as he hears that Rākṣasa has come :

‘ केनोत्तुङ्गशिखाकलापकपिलो बद्धः पटान्ते शिखी
पाशैः केन सदागतेरगतिता सद्यस्समासादिता ।
केनानेकपदानवासितसटः सिंहोऽर्पितः पञ्चरे
भीमः केन च नैकनक्रमकरो दोभ्यां प्रतीर्णोऽर्णवः ॥ ’

—M.R., VII, 6.

But to write such figures, the poet must be lost in *Rasa* and must have infinite *Pratibhā*. Those that do not naturally get these figures in such an appropriate manner can employ figures effectively if they do so with discrimination.

ध्वन्यात्मभूते प्रदंगारे समीक्ष्य विनिवेशितः ।

रूपकादिरसंकारवर्गं एति यथार्थताम् ॥

—Dhva. Ā., p. 88, II, 18.

What is this *Samīkṣā* ?

विवक्षा तत्परत्वेन नाङ्गित्वेन कथञ्चन ।

काले च ग्रहणत्यागौ नातिनिर्वह्यौषिता ॥

निर्व्यूढावपि चाङ्गत्वे यत्नेन प्रत्यवेक्ष्यम् ।

रूपकादिरसंकारवर्गं एति यथार्थताम् ॥

—Dhva. Ā., p. 88, II, 19-20.

(i) *Alamkāras* must be ancillary, *Āṅgabhūta*.

(ii) They must never become main, *Pradhāna* or *Āṅgin*.

(iii) The main theme shall always be kept in view and the figure in consequence must be taken and thrown away in accordance with the requirements of the main idea.

(iv) They must not be too much elaborated or overworked.

(v) Even if they are worked out, a good poet must take care to give them, on the whole, the position of *Āṅga* only. (i) In the verse from the *Śākuntala* ¹ ‘चलापाङ्गां दृष्टिं स्पृशन्ति बद्धशो वेपथुमतौम्, etc.’, the description of the natural acts of the bee, *भ्रमरस्वभावोक्ति* is introduced as *Āṅga* to intensify the chief *Rasa* of *Śrīṅgāra*. (ii) There are instances in which we see poets drifting along in the world of imagery itself without returning to the point on hand. The poet

¹ See Dhva. Ā., pp. 89-94 for the illustration and discussion of these canons.

begins a figure and does it in such a detailed manner that it outgrows its proper limit.

‘नाङ्गित्वेनेति, प्राधान्येन कदाचिद् ; रसादितात्पर्येण विवक्षितोऽपि ह्यलंकारः कश्चिदङ्गित्वेन विवक्षितो दृश्यते ।’—*Dhvā. Ā.*, p. 89.

‘यत्प्रकृतस्य पोषणाय स्वस्वरूपतिरस्कारकोऽप्यङ्गभूतोऽलंकारः संपद्यते । ततश्च कश्चिदनौचित्यमागच्छतीति × × ।’—*Locana*, p. 90.

The illustration for this given by Ānanda is the verse ‘चक्राभिघात etc.’, where the main idea intended to be adorned by the figure is lost in the elaborate reaches of the Prayāyokta, which has overgrown and hid the main idea. (iii) Opportune introduction is illustrated by the verse ‘उद्दामोत्कलिकां etc.’ where Śleṣa finds timely introduction ; as Abhinava says, this description paves the way for the coming Īrṣyāvipralambha. (iv) In the verse ‘रत्नस्वं नवपल्लवैः etc.’, for the sake of the main Rasa, Vipralambha, and for the sake of another Alamkāra, namely, Vyatireka which is to heighten the Vipralambha, the figure of Śleṣa worked out in the first three lines is abandoned in the last line. This illustrates ‘kāle tyāga’. (v) There are instances where Alamkāras are merely touched upon and left there ; lesser artists sit to work them out. In the verse

‘कोपात्कोमललोलबाहुलतिकापाशेन बद्धा दृढं
नीत्वा वासनिकेतनं etc.’

the Rūpaka of Bāhupāśalatikā and Bandha is not worked out in any artificial and tiresome manner. If the poet had worked it out, Abhinava says, it would have been very improper—परं अनौचित्यं स्यात्. This verse illustrates ‘नातिनिर्वहणैषिता.’ (vi) Such a genius like Kālīdāsa can work out a figure in full and can see that the main Rasa is not only not hindered by it, but is actually intensified by it. *E.g.* श्यामाखंगं, Megha. The Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra of the theme is again brought to the forefront in the last line to be nourished by the Utprekṣā.

When used thus with appropriateness, Alamkāras go to enrich the ideas of the poet and add charm to the diction. Of these Alamkāras, we shall here speak in particular about a few select ones. Figures can be classified into three main classes : (i) those based on Similarity, Upamā and all other figures involving Upamā ; (ii) those based on Difference, Virodha, and (iii) those based on other mental activities like association, contiguity, etc. In the third class can be brought all the figures other than those based on

Aupamya and Virodha. Of these, figures involving similarity are the most abundant in poetry. 'The intellectual power called similarity or feeling of agreement is our chief instrument of invention.' Applied literally in the sciences, it leads to unity through induction. In metaphysics, साधर्म्यवैधर्म्यपरीक्षा is mentioned as means to Niśśreyasa by Kaṇāda.

The greatness of Upamā is thus put by Appayya dīkṣita in his Ācitraṁmāmsā :

तदिदं चित्रं विश्वं ब्रह्मज्ञानादिवोपमाज्ञानात् ।
ज्ञातं भवतीत्यादौ निरूप्यते निखिलभेदसहिता सा ॥
उपमेका शैलूषी संप्राप्ता चित्रभूमिकाभेदान् ।
रञ्जयति काव्यरङ्गे न्यून्यन्ती तदिदं चेतः ॥

Great artists are said to express an idea ; great poets are explained as inculcating a lesson to the times through their work. It is impossible to conceive of such idea and lesson except through the principle of imagery ; the great poem being something like a big, deep-laid Anyāpadeśa. In philosophical teachings, simile plays a very large part. Simile, Metaphor, Allegory, Parable—these are often employed to inculcate the profound truths of the incomprehensible. As Rudraṭa points out in his verse, सम्यक् प्रतिपादयितुं etc., the Simile is for clearer understanding. But poetic imagery, like the variety of life, involves similarity in difference. 'साधर्म्यमुपमा भेदे।' 'The things compared in a figure though differing in kind possess an amount of similarity, rendering the one illustrative of the other.' Though ultimately, Simile, like any other figure, must heighten the Rasa, there are, comparatively speaking, two kinds of this figure, the intellectual and the emotional. The former appeals to our intellect and is designed for that and the latter is used to heighten the sentiment. The intellectual simile must have maximum catching power ; it must be very striking and at the same time, the point of similarity must be relevant ; it must not be accompanied by any further details that may distract or mislead.

अविषह्यातपो यावत्सूर्यो नातिविराजते ।
अमार्गेणागतां लक्ष्मीं प्राप्येवान्वयवर्जितः ॥

—Rānāyaṇa, Āraṇya, 8, 8.

एते हि समुपासौना विहगा जलचारिणः ।
नावगाहन्ति सलिलं अप्रगल्भा इवाहवम् ॥

—Rāmāyaṇa, Āraṇya, 16, 22.

These beautiful instances from the Rāmāyaṇa have the required novelty and strikingness. As S. J. Brown¹ says, the pleasure we derive from a comparison—to which we stick, however much we may call it odious—is in the sudden bringing together of two notions which were a moment before unconnected and remote from one another. This element of agreeable surprise falls under intellectual appeal. The following are two more instances :

निद्रा क्वाप्यवमानितेव दयिता सन्त्यज्य दूरं गता
सत्याचप्रतिपादितेव वसुधा न क्षीयते शर्वरी ॥
परमातेव निस्त्रेहाः परकार्याणीव श्रौतलाः (?) ।
सत्तवो भक्षिता राजन् शुद्धाः कुलवधूरिव ॥

‘The matters compared here are so different, we are startled by the ingenuity displayed in bringing them together and the effect is an agreeable fillip of the mind.’ In this respect, the danger of abuse lies in the lack of caution in the poet, in obscurity and far-fetchedness and the dwindling down of the similarity to a single and mere matter of fact point. There was a Christmas sales’ advertisement in a card with a dog whose tail had been cut ; the dog was looking at its shortened tail and underneath was printed ‘*It will not be long now* before Christmas, as the dog said about its tail!’ Such instances are effective means for comedy and humour and typical instances can be gathered from Dickens’s Sam Weller in his *Pickwick Papers*.

Coming to the other kind of Upamā : Later poets, wherever they might have been, however little their knowledge of things or imagination might have been, had a Kaviśikṣā to supply them with as many moons and lotuses as they wanted. Though one had not seen the Himālayas, he devoted a canto to its description with all the stock-in-trade and trite figures, mistaken informations filling verse after verse. The absurdity is seen clearly in the capricious geography of India which Vāmanabhaṭṭabāṇa teaches us in his *Vemabhūpāla carita*. In Upamā, the necessity for novelty is overlooked and the anxiety to abide by the qualification ‘Sammata’ has been the cause of monotony. Anybody could write out a hundred verses any day on the sunrise, with the red sun, the lotus and the bee and the waning moon, their one single feature of looking like lovers being done to exhaustion. Appayya dīkṣita defines Upamā thus :

उपमानोपमेयत्वयोग्ययोरर्थयोर्द्वयोः ।
हृद्यं साधर्म्यमुपमेय्यते काव्यवेदिभिः ॥

¹ ‘World of Imagery’. Quoted by K. A. Subrahmanya Ayyar in his contributions on ‘Imagery of Rāmāyaṇa’, J.O.R., Madras, Vol. III, pt. 4.

Others also have pointed out the defects in the form and content of Simile. Even as it is not poetic figure to be comparing things by their Padārthatva, it is not poetic figure if it is too trite or too often repeated. Emotional intensity and intellectual delights are derived only from such figures as are 'Āścaryabhūta'; and when there is not enough 'Viadagdhya' in the poet's Vāk, the repetition is intolerable. As a matter of fact, many Alamkāras have lost their force and charm by the one reason of repetition. We do not simply say, even in talks, one is named so, but only 'नाम्ना भूषित'; so much so, there is almost no effect produced when a poet says सुखांबुज, मुकुरकपोल, etc.

The inferior poets had ample Vyutpatti, unlit by imagination. As they were great scholars, we can rarely find a technical flaw in their figures as figures. But the place where they abused is the same. It is their scholarship that bound them to the rule. When they get an imagery on their mind, they settle down to turn it into one of the Upamāgarbhālamkāras of the texts; they choose one that they have not used up to that time; in their construction, they adopt the same manner of expression of that figure as given in the text-book and when there is no 'Līṅgavacana sāmāya' for the Upamā, they artificially work out by redistributions, with the great control over lexicon and grammar they had, the conforming form of the figure. Things that are in pairs are often brought into singular number as occasion needs and to coincide with a feminine stem, 'Padadvaya' will become 'Padadvayī'. Even Kālidāsa strains to achieve this formal correspondence. He takes the bees in a group in feminine gender to bear comparison with a lady, a single and feminine Upameya.

तं प्राप्य सर्वावयवानवद्यं व्यावर्ततान्योपगमात्कुमारौ ।

न हि प्रफुल्लं सहकारमेव दृष्टान्तरं काञ्चति षट्पदालौ ॥¹

—R.V., VI, 69.

Let us turn to the Rāmāyaṇa where this weight of Līṅgavacana sāmāya does not hang on the poet :

अहं तु हृतदारश्च राज्याच्च महतस्तुतः ।

नदीकूलमिव क्षिप्तमवसीदामि लक्ष्मण ॥

—Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā, 28, 58.

¹ See also महीभृतः पुत्रवतोऽपि हृष्टिः तस्मिन्नपत्ये न जगाम दृष्टिम् ।

अनन्तपुष्पस्य मधोर्हि चूते द्विरफमाला सविशेषसङ्गा ॥

—Kumāra Sambhava, I.

पश्य रूपाणि सौमित्रे वनानां पुष्पशालिनाम् ।

वृजतां पुष्पवर्षाणि तोयं तोयमुच्चाभिव ॥—Kis., I, 10.

नलिनानि प्रकाशन्ते जले तरुणसूर्यवत् ॥ „ „ 61.

A latter-day poet would have certainly stopped to abide by an Ālāmkārika dictum and by some 'Piṣṭapeṣana' and 'Kliṣṭa Kalpana' spoil the simple beauty of the idea presented by Vālmiki. Daṇḍin says that there are cases where neither Līṅga-disagreement nor Vacana-disagreement can spoil the beauty of an Upamā; the Saḥrdaya's sense is the judge; if it is not disturbed, all is right with the figure :

न लिंगवचने भिन्ने न ह्रीनाधिकतापि वा ।

उपमादूषणायालं यत्रोद्देशो न धीमताम् ॥

स्त्रीव गच्छति षण्डोऽयं वक्तव्येषा स्त्री पुमानिव ।

प्राणा इव प्रियोऽयं मे विद्या धनमिवार्जिता ॥

—Daṇḍin, K.Ā., II, 51-3.

The following verse also is beautiful, despite līṅga-vacana-vyatyāsa :

परमातेव निस्स्नेहाः परकार्याणीव शीतलाः(?) ।

सक्तवो भक्षिता राजन् शुद्धाः कुलवधूरिव ॥

Coming to the manner of expressing the similarity : Daṇḍin and others have given some words expressing similarity, Sādrśyavācaka śabdās. But ingenuity and eccentricity have invented other expressions to convey similarity. Śrīharṣa employs these words of comparison—स्युप्रति तत्कदनं कदलीतरुः । Nai., IV, 8. We have other new and original words to suggest similarity—सब्रह्मचारौ, सतीर्थं, वैतण्डिक, सयूथ, प्रतिद्वन्द्व, कलहायमान, etc.¹ These words are in themselves condensed metaphors and it is only after long Rūḍhi that they mean simply 'similarity'. Till then the reader has to pass through another metaphor to understand the main imagery. While it must be accepted that it is highly diverting to have ever such novel words of comparison, one cannot blind oneself to the growing Aprasiddhi, involvedness and obscurity.

¹ The Lalitāstavaratna of Durvāsas and the Mūkapañcaśatī use such expressions profusely but one does not dislike them in these two masterly hymns. See also Āryastavarāja of a Tanjore Jagannātha (Vānī Vilas edn.) produced in imitation of Durvāsas' Lalitāstavaratna.

Considering the way in which figures are expressed : Even very appropriate images are abused by strained expression, resorted to with special effort, for the sake of variety as well as metrical needs. If the poet gets a simile and gives it, natural expression which is in harmony with Rasa, there is really effect and beauty in its employment. Poetry is after all not an argument to be somehow read and understood ; it is something like a Mañjarī, as Bāṇa says. It has to leap to our heart on even the mere hearing of it. Even as ideas, their expression also has to be beautiful.

अथवा मृदुवस्तु हिंसितुं मृदुनैवारभते प्रजान्तकः ।

हिमसेकविपत्तिरत्र मे नलिनी पूर्वनिदर्शनं मता ॥

—R.V., VIII, 45.

The second half here containing the figure is expressed in a way that it is fit only to be in Tarka book. Like certain words, only certain constructions are poetic. Such expressions of Kālidāsa himself—‘अतिमृदेकोनशतक्रतुत्वे’ (R.V., III) and ‘तव कुसुमशृङ्खलं शीतलरश्मिस्तमिन्दोर्दयमिदमयथार्थं दृश्यते मद्दिधेयुः’ (Śāk.) are not happy at all. Śrīharṣa is a past-master in such wooden expressions and his Kāvya contains many sentences not more poetic than his ‘क्रीडतावाङ्मुखलैः’ Nai., II, 105.

Next in importance to the simile are Rūpaka and Atiśayokti. Simile is used when there is a moderate degree of excitation. When this is great, the mind naturally flies to the metaphor as a more concentrated form of expression, representing many thoughts in a few words. When the emotion is still greater, we resort to Atiśayokti and even Atyukti. ‘These metaphors play an important part in the economy of language, the coining of metaphors being a means to our stock of names.’ Poets create the language of a people. ‘The element of representation, creation on the basis of similarity, is an essential principle of all art and it is a factor in the construction of language itself.’ Thus is language a book of faded metaphors.

‘Just as in the preponderance of the didactic and explanatory tendency, considerations of thought overbalance those of form, those of form overbalance those of thought in the preponderance of the ornate tendency in which there is failure because of an excess of representation. It is simply natural for one who has obtained facility in illustrating his ideas to overdo the matter at times and to carry his art so far as to illustrate that which has been sufficiently illustrated or is itself illustrative.’ As Ānanda and Abhinava say, ‘Atinirvāha’ is bad. It is not proper to work out in the following

manner Rūpakas fully and often, especially in a situation like this full of Karuṇarasa :

‘अवगाढः सुदुष्पारं शोकसागरमब्रवीत् ।
 रामशोकमहाभोगः सौताविरहपारगः ॥
 श्वसितोर्मिमहावर्तो बाष्पफेनजलाविलः ।
 बाहुविक्षोपमीनौघः विक्रन्दितमहास्वनः ॥
 प्रकीर्णकेशशैवालः कैकेयीबडवामुखः ।
 ममश्रुवेगप्रभवः कुष्ठावाक्यमहाग्रहः ॥
 वरवेलो दृष्टंसाया रामप्रप्राजनायतः ।
 यस्मिन्बत निमग्नोऽहं कौसल्ये राघवं विना ।
 दुस्तरौ जीवता देवि ममायं शोकसागरः ॥’

—Rām., Ayo., 59.

This is all the more inappropriate since it is not Kavivākya but a Pātravākya, words of the dying Daśaratha. Keith quotes one such instance from the Rāmāyaṇa and calls it ‘pointless wit’ and ‘strained taste’.¹ A similar artificial verse is found in Sugrīva’s lament over the fallen body of his elder brother :

सौदर्यघातापरगात्रवालः सन्तापहस्ताक्षिशिरोविषाणः ।
 एनोमयो मामभिहन्ति हस्ती दृप्तो नदीकूलमिव प्रवृद्धः ॥

—Kīṣ., 24. 17.

The passion for figures makes a poet introduce them in such irrelevant places. Aśvathāma, in deep grief at his father’s death, is made to utter such a complicated expression of his sentiment :

तत्त्वरे मे तावत् तातपरिभवानलदह्यमानमिदं चेतः प्रतीकारजलावगाय ।

And in Act I, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa makes Bhīma say :

युष्मच्छासनलंघनाभसि मया मग्नेन नाम स्थितम् ।

Poetry, being intended for the delight of the imagination, must be effective only through hint and suggestion ; and when one makes it a bit of grammar or logic, it ceases to be poetry. It is really surprising how there can be any beauty of figure in such an unpoetic expression as Parisaṁkhyā which can never be a spontaneous utterance. The following Parisaṁkhyā is a description of the rain season in the Rāmāyaṇa :

¹ The author of the Imagery of Rāmāyaṇa (J.O.R., Madras, referred to above) characterises such instances as ‘Symmetry-figures’, those worked out for symmetry alone. The giving of a name to them does not take away their artificiality.

वहन्ति वर्षन्ति नदन्ति भान्ति ध्यायन्ति नृत्यन्ति समाश्वसन्ति ।
नद्यो घना मत्तगजा वनान्ताः प्रियाविह्वीनाः शिखिनः झवंगाः ॥

—Kīṣ., 18. 27.

It is proper that Kuntaka should reject this 'Alaṃkāra'.

From mere Rūpaka, the poet's first move in the world of the image itself produces the Parīṇāmālaṃkāra, which is Rūpaka with Prakṛtopayogitva. This figure has been abused very much. The poet moves on only in the world of imagery, carried away by suggestions of further images from the details of the first imagery. He does not beautify or illustrate the main idea which he has now forgotten.

दोर्दण्डदर्पलपनो यदीयस्तमो निरस्यन्नपि लोकवृत्ति ।

प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिमण्डलस्य निमीलयामास मुखांबुजानि ॥

—Sahṛdayānanda, I.

The first figure Rūpaka suggests a Parīṇāma and that is further taken up to a Virodha and the last metaphor here—मुखांबुजानि—is wholly inappropriate as applied to the faces of enemies.

Such verses often become ununderstandable like puzzles, three or four ideas intervening between the understanding and the Rasa. Mahimā says :

‘त्रिभिरन्तरिता यथा × × × × × × × तदिदमुपायपरं परोप-
रोहनिस्सद्वा न रसास्वादान्तिकमुपगन्तुमलमिति प्रहेलिकाप्रायं काव्यमेतत् × × × ।’

—V.V., I.T.S.S., pp. 17-18.

The same is the case with Paryāyokta,¹ Preyān, and Rasavad-alaṃkāras. The king or God is to be praised ; Prīti for them is the main Rasa of the subject, but a minor Rasa is employed to adorn the main one. A far-fetched idea suggesting some great quality of the king or God (which quality is left to hide itself in one small word) is elaborated and the whole verse is burdened with a new picture which is a world by itself. The verse बल्लालक्ष्मिपाल त्वदरिगरे सञ्चरन्तौ किरातौ, etc. quoted by Appayya dīkṣita in his Cītramīmāṃsā as an illustration of Uttarottarapallavitabhrānti aptly shows how poets stray away from the main idea. This tendency is the main feature of the vast mass of court eulogies like the Pratāparudriya (the Alaṃkāra work), Prāṇābharāṇa, Rājendra-karṇapūra, etc. When Kālidāsa writes thus :

क्रियाप्रबन्धेष्वयमध्वराणां व्यजस्वमाहृतसहस्रनेत्रः ।

श्रद्धाश्विरं पाण्डुकपोललंबान् मन्दारश्रृङ्गानलकांश्चकार ॥

¹ Vide above, criticism of चक्राभिधान, etc.

we have the main idea of the king doing sacrifices incessantly given adequate expression, but if we take a verse from the Pratāparudriya praising the king, we can see the poet rolling in the world of images themselves with little reference to the king's qualities. Sometimes it seems that court-poetry will praise and pun and work conceits upon Gaṅgā, Kṣīrodadhi, and Candra themselves to the exclusion of what they are taken to represent, viz. the king's white fame.¹

Coming to Utprekṣā, we already saw one instance of a bad Utprekṣā of king Bhoja from the Rāmāyaṇa Campū, वाणीविज्ञासमपरञ्च etc., where the poet has gone contrary to the main theme. This figure especially shall always be closely connected with the main theme and Rasa.

गुरोर्निधोगादनितां वनान्ते साध्वीं सुमित्रातनयो जिह्वास्यन् ।

अवार्यतेवोत्थितवौचिहस्तैः जङ्गोर्दुहित्रा स्थितया पुरस्तात् ।

—R.V., XIV, 51.

Here is an appropriate Utprekṣā, one in perfect consonance with the sentiment ; Kālidāsa has heightened the effect by it. But ingenuity and eccentricity formed the endowments of many poets who made conceits far-fetched and irrelevant. Not to mention pleasure, even intellectual satisfaction is not produced by the many Utprekṣās in Śrīharṣa. The Rasa is obscured to a single word. As with hyperbole, so with conceits. The departure from truth must not be shocking. Bain says : 'Tiresome to us at least is the straining of this figure in Eastern Poetry'. He says this of hyperbole and it is true also of conceit. It is mistaken taste and scholarship that revels in these far-fetched figures.

लोकातीत इवात्यर्थमध्यारोप्य विवक्षितः ।

योऽर्थस्तेनातिदुष्यन्ति विदग्धा नेतरे जनाः ॥

—Daṇḍin, K.Ā., I.

Another figure with which Sanskrit Punditship is cheaply associated is Śleṣa. As Keith points out, the lexicons and the Nānārthavargas did a very bad service in this connection. It became impossible for a latter-day scholar to write except in double entendre and if we take a work like Vedāntadeśika's Subhāṣitanivī, we cannot find there a single verse which has not got two meanings. Sometimes we are able to set up similarity between both the ideas

¹ I think, I will be stepping out of the bounds of modesty if I mention here that I have attempted a Parody of this literature in a dramatic piece called Pratāparudriya-vidāmbana.

and sometimes we are left to satisfy ourselves with the mere pleasure of originality and admire the author's command over the language. Often the puns revolve round silly and trivial attributes. There are also cases of discord of varying nature between the two ideas : the idea on hand, the Prākaraṇika, is Adhika, the other, Nyūna ; the former noble, the latter, base. The author of the Sahrdayānanda makes a pun upon such a trifle of an attribute as owl *having wings*. It was the boast of authors that they could pun at every step ; it was the banner of their talents. Subandhu beats his own Paṭaha thus :

प्रत्यक्षरश्लेषमयप्रपञ्चविन्यासवैदग्ध्यनिधिं प्रबन्धम् ।

सरस्वतीदत्तवरप्रसादः चक्रे सुबन्धः सुजनैकबन्धः ॥

So much so that it became not only a possibility or accomplished fact but a practice of great fancy 'to perpetrate' double, triple, and quadruple poems.

But what exactly is the place of this figure ? Has it any charm to impart to the diction ? It helps all Alamkāras, except Svabhāvokti :

श्लेषः पुष्पाति सर्वासु प्रायो वक्रोक्तिषु श्रियम् ।—Daṇḍin.

Abhinava also points out that it helps Upamāgarbha figures. Used with restraint, it can be charming and effective. The two meanings must be well known ; the figure must have come off easily. Bāṇa says : श्लेषोऽस्तिष्ठः । Harṣacarita. The following are two instances of simple and beautiful Śleṣa, used with an eye to increase the effect of the situation :

बाष्पेण पिहितं दीनं रामस्तौमित्रिणा सह ।

चकर्षेव गुणैर्बद्धा जनं पुरनिवासिनम् ॥

—Rām., Ayo., 41. 12.

शरत्कालं प्रतौक्षिष्ये स्थितोऽस्मि वचने तव ।

सुग्रीवस्य नदीनां च प्रसादमनुपालयन् ॥

—Rām., Kiṣ., 27. 42.

Kālidāsa, who rarely resorts to this figure, gives a similar simple Śleṣa in his R.V., III :

न संयतस्तस्य बभूव रक्षितुः विसर्जयेद्यं सुतजन्महर्षितः ।

ऋणाभिधानात्स्वमेव केवलं तदा पितृणां सुमुचेऽस बन्धनात् ॥

In Bāṇa, we meet with both uses and abuses of this figure. As in his life, so in his writings, Bāṇa was exhuberant and was responsible for excess. He often forgot proportion and in Utprekṣā, he became endless sometimes as in that long and tiring description

of the king's elephant, Darpaśāta, in Ucchvāsa II of the Harṣacarita. He dealt in pointless Śleṣas like वैनतेय इव गुरुपक्षपातौ. He was a master of Śabdabhaṅgaśleṣa, in which the words have to be differently split for the two meanings. This Bhaṅgaśleṣa is denounced by Keith and others ; those who have complete acquaintance and are familiar with all the nooks and corners of a language can understand a Bhaṅgaśleṣa very easily. Victor Hugo says that in the whole world there is one nation that can speak and enjoy a pun, viz. the French. And L. Bloomfield says that the French is a language for punning, *par excellence*, since it has little word-boundaries. This remark applies to Sanskrit Bhaṅgaśleṣa equally. Śleṣa in general is very effective in gnomic utterances where they help to nail the maxim into our head ; they are equally catching in Cāṭus or eulogies. In Cāṭus, the Bhaṅgaśleṣa also is freely employed and in the following Cāṭu, Bhaṅgaśleṣa is certainly very striking :

भवान् हि भगवानेव गतो भेदः परस्परम् ।

महत्या गदया युक्तः सत्यभामाविराजितः ॥

When overdone or when handled by lesser artists, the Padabhaṅgaśleṣa can become one of the obstacles to understanding and realization of Rasa. Ānandavardhana classes it along with the Duṣkaras, the Yamaka, the Bandhas, etc. which have to be avoided in the delineation of Rasas like Śṛṅgāra, Vipralambha, and Karuṇa.

‘—यमकप्रकाराणां निबन्धनं दुष्करशब्दभंगश्लेषादीनां शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वमिति ।’

—Dhva. Ā., p. 85.

As compared with this Śabdaśleṣa of Bhaṅga, Arthaśleṣa is less of an impediment to Rasa ; used discriminately, it can help Rasa even. Says Ābhinava :

‘शब्दभंगश्लेषेति । अर्थश्लेषो न दोषाय, यथा रक्तस्त्वमित्यादि । शब्दभंगोऽपि क्लिष्ट एव दुष्टः, न तु अश्लोक-सश्लोकादौ ।’—Locana, p. 85.

The next prominent figure which had found a place in the Rāmāyaṇa and had become monotonous in later poets is the Samāsokti. Poets see the world shaped in beauty. To them there is music in the spheres. Words in the feminine gender fascinates them.

‘तथा हि ‘तटौ तारं ताम्यति’ इत्यत्र तटशब्दस्य पुंस्त्वनपुंसकत्वे अनादृत्य स्त्रीत्वमेव आदृतं सद्दृश्यैः ‘स्त्रीनामार्पिं मधुरं’ इति कृत्वा ।’—Locana, p. 160.

सति लिंगान्तरे यत्र स्त्रीलिंगं च प्रयुज्यते ।

शोभानिष्पत्तये यस्मिन् नामैव स्त्रीति पेशलम् ॥

—Vakroktijivita, 93.

This employment of Samādhiguṇa ' with which poets, as with magic, give life and motion (emotion ?) to every inanimate part of nature ' is praised by Daṇḍin as ' Kāvya sarvasva '.

तदेतत् काव्यसर्वस्वं समाधिर्नाम यो गुणः ।

कविसार्थस्समग्नोऽपि तमेनमनुगच्छति ॥—K.Ā., I.

Samādhiguṇa produces the Samāsokti figure. Vālmīki has two beautiful verses of this class, in the former of which elements of Samāsokti go to beautify the main figure of Upamā.

सेवमाने दृढं सूर्ये दिशमन्तकसेविताम् ।

विहीनतिलकेव स्त्री नोत्तरा दिक् प्रकाशते ॥—Āraṇya, 16. 8.

चञ्चच्चन्द्रकरस्पर्शसमुन्मीलिततारका ।

अहो रागवती सन्ध्या जहाति स्वयम्बरम् ॥

—Kīṣkindhā, 30. 46.

There are some very fine verses of this type in Canto XI of the Śiśupālavadhā where Māgha gives us a description of dawn. But soon, poets with neither originality nor restraint began to repeat images ; the same three or four objects of sun, moon, the Padminī, the Kairaviṇī, the Prācī and the Praticī dīks were exploited for many verses together, the points of attraction dwindling to trifles, and with variety almost non-existent. Gradually this figure became intellectual and no wonder, it begot the new subvariety called Śāstrasamāsokti.

In Sanskrit Literature, there are some strange metaphors at which some English critics evince surprise. As for instance, we never have simple Asi (sword) but have only—असिलता. Among our own critics, Kṣemendra has said (in his Aucityavicāracarcā) that such a delightful object as moon ought not to be conceived as Citācakra. Things repellent and terrible by themselves must never be conceived in images of charm and love. But while describing the death of enemies, their sufferings, etc., the poet does employ such imagery, sometimes in callousness and sometimes in the light vein. The falling warriors are said to embrace Earth ; and Kālidāsa describes Tāṭakā passing away into Death's abode as going to her lover.

Śāstrasamāsokti has given rise to sheer pēdantry. In an age of poetry when poets were scholars with Vyutpatti in all the Darśanas and branches of learning, nothing could satisfy the writer or reader but high-flown rapprochement with Śāstraic ideas. Viśākhadatta's claim for dramatic genius will hardly become less if he had not

written साधे निखिलमन्त्रवेग घटितं बिभत्सपक्षे स्थितिं, etc. The Naiṣadhakāra's own Diṇḍima is on this point—ग्रन्थग्रन्थिरिह क्वचित्क्वचिदपि न्यासि प्रयत्नान्मया . All the Darśanas and the subtleties thereof find a place in his poem. See the Tārka here : ' अनुमितोऽपि स बाष्पनिरीक्षणात् व्यभिचचार न तपकरोऽनलः ' IV. Naiṣadha. Surely, poetry must do Upadeśa ; the sublime thoughts, the deep philosophies—all these the poet must give expression to ; but this Śāstrasamāsokti is hardly that.

The last Alamkāra that we shall consider here specially is that variety of Aprastutaprasāmsā or Anyokti called Anyāpadeśa. If poetry is a criticism of life, Anyāpadeśa is poetry above all other types. In it, the poet points out the flaws and failings of men, praises their nobility, biting remarks about men's meanness, and makes fun of and satirizes every aspect of human character. Bhaṭṭa Bhallaṭa's century of Anyāpadeśa has some very fine verses. Nilakaṇṭha Dikṣita's Anyāpadeśa is unequalled in this branch. In the anthologies, there are some brilliant Anyāpadeśa verses. But all the other Anyāpadeśa centuries are trash. A few objects like the sea, the sun, the moon, the lotus, the Kokila and the mango in contrast with the crow and the Margosa, the winter and the frogs—these trite things in some stale ideas were exploited for a hundred and more verses. The poet did not pick out any particular, subtle, or prominent defect of humanity to criticize, or good quality to praise. Not feeling anything to write a verse with life, these poets dashed off verse after verse, retailing one triviality after another. Anyāpadeśa is a type of literature that can never be written at a sitting, by Āśukavi's, but must be written on occasions, must be made to accumulate into a collection in the course of the varied life of a poet, full with experience. If Bhallaṭa wrote the verse on the ignoble Dust, which by the kicking up of the fickle wind got on the very tops of mountains—ये जात्या लघवः सदैव गणनां याता न ये कुत्रचित् , etc., we know Bhallaṭa felt the poignant grief ; we know from the Rājatarāṅgiṇī that in the reign of the mean and wicked Śaṅkara-varman (A.D. 882-902), great men like poet Bhallaṭa had to earn their livelihood by doing all sorts of services, that poets were not given gifts and that peons drew fabulous salaries, holding high authority.¹

But small minds—सन्दाः कवियज्ञःप्रार्थिनः—never thought themselves ' kṛtārtha ' if they had not finished off in their literary career

¹ Kalhana, R.T., V, 204, etc.

त्यागभीषतया तस्मिन् गुणिसंगपराङ्मुखे ।
आसेवन्नावरा वृत्तौः कवयो भङ्गटादयः ॥
निर्वेतनास्तु कवयो, भारिको लघटस्त्वभूत् ।
प्रसादात्तस्य दीनारसञ्चदयवेतनः ॥

a century of Anyāpadeśa and immediately they made a 'Parikara-bandha' and began exploiting the sun and the moon, the मल्लीवल्ली, etc.

We have thus far considered figures of sense. Poetry, as it is required to be sensuous, must be pleasing to the ear also. The form of the form itself must be beautiful, must have a music and flow. The poet must look to harmony, balance, and climax in his sentences. Metre itself owes its origin to this requirement as also to the emotional outburst. Keith grants that the Sanskrit poets have 'certainly a better ear than themselves (foreigners) to the music of the words',—the sounds' appropriateness to suggest the meaning and sentiment. What a verse did Bhavabhūti write!

वच्चादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ।

लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को हि विज्ञातुमर्हति ॥

It is really a marvel of sound effect that Bāṇa produces with utmost ease :

‘अपराङ्गप्रचारप्रचलिते चामरिणि चामीकरतटताडनरगितरदने रदति सुरखवन्ती-
रोधांसि खैरमैरावते ।’

‘क्रमेण अधोऽधो धावमानधवलपयोधरां’

‘ग्राह्यावग्रामस्खलनमुखरितस्रोतसं’—Harṣacarita, I.

‘विरलीभवति वरटानां वेश्मन्तशायिनीनां मञ्जुनि मञ्जीरशिक्षितजडे जल्पिते ।’

—*Ibid.*, III.

One cannot pick out in Bāṇa ; the reader with keen sensibility hears the metallic sound of Irāvata striking its tusk on a golden pavement, sees the rolling clouds, sees the current stumbling and rushing out of each of the three blocking words, Grāva, Grāha, Grāma and in the stillness of our mind, we find the long-drawn silvery voice of female swans in the ponds on the outskirts of the city slowly dying. Colour, smell, and sound, we are able to directly realize in Kālidāsa's verse :

दीर्घीकुर्वन्मृदुमदकलं कूजितं सारसानां

प्रत्यूषेषु स्फुटितकमलामोदमैत्रीकषायः ।

यत्र स्त्रीणां हरति सुरतग्लानिमंगलानुकूलः

शिप्रावातः प्रियतम इव प्रार्थनाचादुकारः ॥

—Megha., I.

When Kālidāsa said of Āja, ‘तत्प्रमुञ्चकार’, we see how Āja briskly rose up from his bed, unlike the slothful and sleepy ; and the

sternness of Nandin's command to the Gaṇas not to give way to Cāpala, rings in our own ears when we read—

. तच्छासनात्काननमेव सर्वं चित्रार्पितारम्भमिवावतस्ये ।—K.S.; III.

Bhavabhūti was as great a master with the words ; surely the delicate and charming effects are easy of achievement for him when they are needed ; but he discovered the sound effects required for the Raudra and Bibhatsa Rasas ; what he created, others still live upon. In the Śmaśānāṅka of the Mālatīmādhava, he makes one's flesh creep, hairs stand on end, and feet step back in fright. The owl, the jackal, the water of the river rushing through skeletons,—eeriness gathers round when we read

गुञ्जल्लङ्घकुटीरकौशिकघटाघूत्कारसंवेक्षित-

क्रन्दत्पोरवचण्डघातृतिभृतप्राग्भारभीमैस्तटैः ।

अन्तःकौर्ण्यकारङ्गकर्परतरत्संगोधिकूलंकष-

खोतोनिर्गमघोरघर्घररवा पारे श्मशानं सरित् ॥—M.M.

Take that verse again in his Mahāvīracarita which brings on Tāṭākā, the demoness—

अन्वप्रोतदृहत्वपालनलकक्रूरकणालंकण, etc.¹

The concepts of Rīti and Vṛtti in poetics owe their formulation to a study of these sound-effects. These also count for Rasa. It is said that the first gait of the actor on the stage interprets him and his character to the audience ; that first impression stands to the last. So also the first effect a verse on its mere reading or hearing produces, holds the mind to the end. For the Rasa to be suggested, even the jingle in the sounds or the clash of words is welcome and appropriate means.

A further carrying out of these ideas gives rise to the Śabdālamkāra of Anuprāsa of different varieties. But Yamakas, as Daṇḍin says, are not good—तत्तु नैकान्तमधुरम् . They have least to do with Rasa. Ānandavardhana lays down the following rules for the use of Anuprāsa and Yamaka :

‘ शृङ्गारस्याङ्गिनो यत्नादेकरूपानुबन्धनात् ।

सर्वेष्वेव प्रभेदेषु नानुप्रासः प्रकाशकः ॥

ध्वन्यात्मभूते शृङ्गारे यमकादिनिबन्धनम् ।

शक्तावपि प्रमादित्वं विप्रलम्भे विशेषतः ॥ ’

—Dhva. Ā., p. 85 ; Kā., 15-16.

¹ Vide my paper on Aucitya previously referred to. Dhva. Ā., III.

In such Rasas as Śṛṅgāra and Karuṇa, the elaborate and artificial figures of sound have no place. Vālmiki has shown that, in a mere description, rhymes find a proper place. The famous description of the moonlight night in the Sundarakāṇḍa ‘स तत्र मध्यगतमंशुमन्तं, etc.’ is an example. There is a particular tendency in the Rāmāyaṇa which is seen even in the Ṛgveda, to juxtapose similar sound groups, an effect which Kālidāsa and Aśvagoṣa adopted from the master. Vālmiki writes—‘पद्भ्यां पादवतां वरः’, ‘दक्षिणो दक्षिणां दिशम्’, ‘रावणो लोकरावणः’ etc. These do not do violence to the sense and at the same time add to the charm of the diction. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa especially delights in such innocent assonances :

तस्मै सभ्याः सभार्याय गोप्ते गुप्तमेन्द्रियाः ।

अर्हणामर्हते चक्रुः सुनयो नयचक्षुषे ॥—R.V., I.

इत्थं द्विजेन द्विजराजकान्तिः आवेदितो वेदविदां वरेण ।

एनो निवृत्तेन्द्रियवृत्तिरेनं जगाद भूयो जगदेकनाथः ॥—R.V., V.

See ततो मृगेन्द्रस्य मृगेन्द्रगामी (R.V., II), etc.

Cf. Śrīharṣa, Naiṣadha, VI, 1.

दूत्याय दैत्यारिपतेः प्रवृत्तः द्विषां निषेद्धा निषधप्रधानः ।

स भीमभूमौपतिराजधानीं लक्ष्मीचकाराय रथस्यदस्य ॥

Yamaka differs in that it needs special effort and drags the poet away from his Samādhi in Rasa. Not only that: However much, like a latter-day adept at this Yamaka-craft, a poet may get it easily, it is bad and improper in so far as it distracts and stops our minds from proceeding beyond itself, our minds which must reach the ‘Rasa’ obscured in the inner courtyard. (See Dhva. Ā., p. 85). In the ninth canto of the Raghuvamśa however, the theme is only a description of summer and the hunt of the king. In such places, Ānanda allows option in using the Yamaka. But there are descriptions both by Vālmiki and Kālidāsa which do not employ sound-figures and link every descriptive detail with the context. For example, the Vasanta-description opening the Kiṣkin-dhākāṇḍa and the Śarad-description in Canto IV of the Raghuvamśa. The canonists permit the Yamaka- and Duṣkara-mad poets to satisfy themselves in situations of Rasābhāsa. The Bandhas of various types, Ekākṣara, Niroṣṭhya—these have nothing to do with poetry. It is regrettable that after Bhāravi and Māgha, these became part of the definition of Mahākāvya.

A bad ideal for prose was deduced by the latter-day poets from Bāna and from such remarks as गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति, अोजस्वमास-भूयस्त्वमेतद्गद्यस्य जीवितम् etc. Without endless compounds and jingle of sounds, no prose was possible after a time. So much so that as time passed, certain word groups were effected, one word in which would not occur without the other. मल्ली would not come out without वल्ली and the sound of नूपुर will always be introduced as 'मञ्जु मञ्जीरश्चिञ्जा'. All the rivers looked 'त्वङ्गुत्तङ्गतरङ्गरङ्ग'. In ideas and words, a stock diction had grown and poesy became a mechanical craft. In his book on Poetic Diction, Thomas Quayle says of the 18th century poetry in England: 'And the same lack of direct observation and individual expression is obvious whenever the classicists have to mention birds or animals. * * * * *'. And it has been well remarked that if we are to judge from their verse, most of the poets of the first quarter of the eighteenth century knew no bird except the gold finch or nightingale and even these probably only by hearsay. For the same generalised diction is usually called upon and birds are merely a "feathered", "tuneful", "plumy" or "warbling" choir * * *'. How true these remarks are of our Sanskrit poets who produced Mahākāvyas at the shortest notice, who could describe the Himālayas and the Ganges and the ocean without seeing them and at whose command there were Kośas and stock expressions and stock ideas, white fame of the king like the autumnal moonlight, the blazing sun of his prowess, the Vasanta, the Malaya māruta, the भङ्गीसङ्गीत and so on. To this race of poets apply these lines of Keats :

Beauty was awake !

Why were ye not awake ? But ye were dead
To things ye knew not of,—were closely wed
To musty laws lined out with wretched rule
And compass vile ; so that ye taught a school
Of dolts to smooth, inlay, and clip, and fit,
Till, like the certain wands of Jacob's wit,
Their verses tallied. Easy was the task :
A thousand *handicraftsmen* wore the mask
Of Poesy.

—Sleep and Poetry.

To conclude, poetry is neither pure emotion and thought nor mere manner. A beautiful idea must appropriately incarnate itself in a beautiful expression. This defines Alamkāra and its place and function. The function of Alamkāra is to heighten the effect ; it

is to aid the poet to say more pointedly. Whether the poet exalts or does the opposite, Alamkāra is to help him. Says Mahimabhaṭṭa :

विगोत्वर्षापकर्षाभ्यां खदन्तेऽर्था न जातुचित् ।

तदर्थमेव कवयोऽलंकारान्ययुपासते ॥

—V.V., T.S.S., p. 53.

As such, these Alamkāras should flow out of Rasa. Even as emotion is depicted, these must come off, without the poet consciously striving after them. They must be 'irremovable', structural, organic; Rasākṣipta, Aprthag yatna nirvartya. These words of Mahimabhaṭṭa are pertinent here :

‘ किञ्च सौन्दर्यातिरेकनिष्पत्तयेऽर्थस्य काव्यक्रियारंभः कवेः, न तु अलंकारनिष्पत्तये, तेषां नान्तरौयकतयैव तत्सिद्धेः, भङ्गिभङ्गितिभेदानामेव अलंकारत्वोपगमात् । × ×

न चालंकारनिष्पत्तये रसबन्धोद्यतः कविः ।

यतते ते हि तत्सिद्धिर्नान्तरौयकसिद्धयः ॥’¹

—V.V., II, T.S.S., p. 87.

Figures are thus legitimate, though a proper use of them is a gift which only the greater among the poets are endowed with. Be it a Śabda-alamkāra or an Artha-alamkāra, be it a sound-effect or a striking turn of the idea, it is not ‘Bahiranga’ for Rasa, so long as it is useful for Rasa. Effective expression, the embodiment of the poet’s idea, is Alamkāra. It is not as if it were in some separate place, like jewels in a box, to be taken and added. As has been explained in the opening part of this paper, it is the several ways of expressing ideas that are to convey the Rasa that are called Alamkāras.

‘—युक्तं चैतत् । यतो रसा वाच्यविशेषैरेव आक्षेप्यताः, तत्प्रतिपादकैश्च शब्दैः, तत्प्रकाशिनो वाच्यविशेषा एव रूपकादयोऽलंकाराः । तस्मात् तेषां बहिरंगत्वं रसाभिप्रेतौ ।’

—Ānanda, p. 87.

‘रसस्याङ्गं विभावाद्याः साक्षान्निष्पादकत्वतः ।

तद्वैचित्र्योक्तिवपुषोऽलंकारास्तु तदाश्रयाः ॥’—Mahimā., p. 87.

From Rasa to the musical sound which aids its realisation, poetry is one unity, one complex experience.

The purposiveness of Alamkāra is inevitable like the purposiveness of poetry. But this does not mean that one should judge

¹ Vide also the Āntara Śloka 76-77 on p. 87, V.V. There are very valuable ideas on Alamkāra-āucitya in Vimarśa Two of the Vyaktiviveka.

Alamkāra and poetry from a purely utilitarian point of view. There is simply beautiful poetry, which is nothing but the poet's desire to express taken shape. 'These very decorations carry the emotional motive of the poet which says "I find joy in my creations; it is good".'¹ 'When in some pure moments of ecstasy we realise this in the world around us, we see the world not as merely existing but as decorated in its forms, sounds, colours, and lines, we feel in our hearts that there is one who through all things proclaims "I have joy in my creation".'¹ Nature is the creation of God's Līlā, Poetry, of the poet's Līlā.

¹ Tagore.

MOHENJO DARO

THE PEOPLE AND THE LAND

By H. HERAS, S.J.

In this article, which could be illustrated with many references to ancient Samskrta literature, only information derived from the inscriptions of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa will be used.

The ancient Dravidian tribes and perhaps also their contemporaries the Kolarians were *totemic*. An animal, a flower, or any other natural object was the *totem* of the tribe, by which they were known and after which they were styled. When the tribe considerably grew, subdivisions were made and each division, without omitting the original name, took a new sign by which they were called. Again very often two tribes or two portions of the country were officially united and the flag of the union had another sign or device on it. This multiplication of symbols, which finally lost the original *totemic* meaning, at times makes their identification extremely puzzling.

The name of India at the time of the glory of Mohenjo Daro was Sid,¹ which means 'stream', 'to flow', in Dravidian languages. At a later period the nasal *n* was added to it and finally the *u* was suffixed, becoming *Sindu* which was the form that the word had at the time of the Aryan invasions.

The inscriptions speak of four great divisions called countries into which Sid was parcelled, viz., Mīnād,² or the country of Fishes; Paravanād³ or the country of Birds; Maraṅkotinād⁴ or the country of the Woodpecker; and Ēlnād⁵ or the Seven Countries. There were most likely other divisions, the names of which will in course of time appear when new inscriptions are unearthed. We shall speak of them in the same order.

¹ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 294, 396 and 59.

² Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532. This and other similar footnotes are references to photographs kindly supplied by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India.

³ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 12877 and 12688.

⁴ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 3500, 12182 and 3631; M.D., 1928-29, No. 7268; Marshall, M.D., No. 306.

⁵ Marshall, M.D., No. 231; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 4155, 4815 and 4663; M.D., 1928-29, Nos. 4663, 5215 and 5227.

Mīnād.

This seems to be the largest and most important of all these four countries. It was the country of the *Mīnas*,¹ later on called the *Matsyas* in Sanskrit literature, some of whose remnants, bearing the same name, are still found in several states of Rajputana. The limits of this country cannot be defined, yet the fact that part of the country was in Northern India and another part in the South will help to understand its geographical and political importance.

The *Mīnas* were strong² and enterprising people; accordingly they are styled 'great'³ and 'prosperous'⁴ in the inscriptions. Besides war, which will be mentioned later, their occupations were fishing and trade. The former was done in the rivers and undoubtedly also in the sea: their boats⁵ and fishing nets⁶ are spoken of. The king had imposed a fish tax upon fishermen.⁷ Trade is also referred to.⁸ *Mīnas* are mentioned who were the owners of shops.⁹ The only commercial transactions seem to have been barter,¹⁰ which was specially brisk in spring and in the beginning of summer.¹¹ Difficulties as regards this trade sometimes arose, for we find that a judge had once at least to give his decision about the barter of the *Mīnas*.¹² Some *Mīnas* were the owners of land.¹³ There were besides some *Mīnas* who seem to have dedicated their life to intellectual pursuits, for some *Mīnas* living in the solitude of caves are called learned.¹⁴ Caves do not seem to have been the ordinary dwelling of the *Mīnas*. Indeed, they had comfortable and well built houses.¹⁵ Their original *totem* seems to have been the unicorn which is the most common animal in the seals discovered up to now, but the symbol on their flag were the Two Fishes.¹⁶ 'The justice of the *Mīnas*' seems to have been proverbial.¹⁷

The country of the *Mīnas* is called fertile¹⁸ and metaphorically shining.¹⁹ One of their products was toddy, which by the bye was

¹ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532; M.D., 1928-29, No. 5432.

² J.R.A.S., 1925, Pl. X, p. 698.

³ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 402 and 177.

⁴ Marshall, H., No. 38; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 3379, 3557, 3589, 5559 and 10400; H., Neg. 3012, No. 6; H., Neg. 3861, Nos. 1, 2 and 5; M.D., 1929-30, Dk, 8406; M.D., 1928-29, No. 4967.

⁵ Marshall, H., No. 3931.

⁶ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 470.

⁷ *Ibid.*, H., No. 33.

⁸ R.A., Vol. XXII, p. 99.

⁹ Marshall, M.D., No. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 66.

¹¹ A.S.I. Report, 1923-24, Pl. XIX, No. 18 (M.D.).

¹² Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVII, No. 12 (Hr. 4337).

¹³ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. 8028.

¹⁴ Marshall, M.D., No. 21.

¹⁵ As may be seen in Mohenjo Daro itself.

¹⁶ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10893.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 5514.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 3987.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4532.

not very strong.¹ The coconut plantations were many and great. One of the reasons of this fertility was the river Sid that crossed from North to South²; 'the stream of the Minas' is mentioned in the inscriptions.³ Besides, a regular system of canals brought the water of the river to the distant fields. These waterways are very often referred to.⁴ The Minas were in what is now Western Sind on the right bank of the Indus and along its lower course. When the Āryas invaded India they were still there. Two cities of this country are specially mentioned.⁵ They seem to be Naṇḍūr and Uḍayūr.

Naṇḍūr is the name of the city which has been so successfully excavated in the mounds of the Larkhana District known to the modern Sindhis as Mohenjo Daro.⁶ Naṇḍūr means, 'the city of the Crab'. Accordingly, the inhabitants of Naṇḍūr are sometimes called 'the Crabs'.⁷ They had good harvests in the surrounding fields of the city.⁸ One of their ponds is said to have dried up.⁹ The city was apparently the residence of the king of Minād who received the title of 'the Farmer of the Crab'.¹⁰ One of the Queens of the Minas owned a coconut plantation.¹¹ In the neighbourhood of Naṇḍūr there was a cave shaded with a number of trees where corpses were being buried.¹²

The other city of importance was Uḍayūr, 'the leading City', which originally had belonged to the tribe of the Bilavas. The Bilavas were archers and hunters by profession. (Their descendants are the Bhils and perhaps the Veddas of Ceylon.) But they were also tilling the soil and were good cultivators: their harvests were always very successful.¹³ A section of this tribe were called *Velvel Bilavas*,¹⁴ i.e. 'Bilavas of the two acacias'. They had a number of cities and towns in their territory, which seems to have been on the eastern bank of the Indus. Their houses were built in the best style having four logs as supports of the roof.¹⁵ Some of their cities are: *Ūrilūr*,¹⁶ 'a city which is not a city', *Eikeiūr*, 'a city built by hunters', *Mūnmale*, 'the three mountains' (place) and *Mūnūr*, the

¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 148.

² *Ibid.*, No. 396.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 323.

⁴ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8248.

⁵ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 7925; 1930-31, Dk, No. 11868.

⁶ This identification will be proved at length in my work, *The Proto-Indian Script and Civilization*.

⁷ Marshall, M.D., No. 17; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 7925.

⁸ Marshall, M.D., No. 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 17.

¹⁰ Marshall, M.D., No. 17 and *passim*.

¹¹ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12118.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 4603.

¹³ Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 4; Marshall, H., No. 165; M.D., No. 69.

¹⁴ Marshall, H., No. 99.

¹⁵ Photo, H., Neg. 3881, No. 8.

¹⁶ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5654.

original of the late Saṃskṛta rendering Tripura. This seems to have been the main city of the Bilavas,¹ but the palisade round it was not finished for a long time.² Five tridents were worshipped there.³ The cult of this symbol of the Supreme Being was apparently very popular in Mūnūr.⁴ Mūnūr seems to have had at least three villages under its jurisdiction,⁵ which explains the name of the city. It is often called 'the one Mūnūr'.⁶ The inhabitants of this city had fields and grazing grounds belonging to the community.⁷ For some time there were great divisions and factions among the people of Mūnūr in connection with the harvest of the community lands. These factions were promoted by three Kalakilas,⁸ members of another tribe that will be mentioned later. Some Bilavas were not living in cities, but in caves.⁹ They worshipped the *liṅga* or phallus.¹⁰

Perhaps the Mīnas of Naṇḍūr, who despised the Bilavas,¹¹ seized the opportunity of these divisions in the city of Mūnūr to attack the city of Uḍayūr, which apparently was a very important one.¹² It was defended by twelve servants of the temple.¹³ The city was conquered in the beginning of spring, to the great glory of the Fish of the Minas, rightly commemorated in the inscription.¹⁴ Ūrilūr was also apparently taken.¹⁵ Since that day Uḍayūr was a part of Minaḍ which thus was growing eastwards.

Shortly afterwards a friendly political union between the Mīnas and the Bilavas was brought about. Two Bilavas apparently were sent to the capital of the Mīnas to settle this union.¹⁶ The symbol selected for the flag of this union was the two fishes of the Minas.¹⁷ Since both the Minas and the Bilavas¹⁸ had many canals in their lands, the union was styled Kalka akūr, i.e. 'the canalized united countries'.¹⁹ This union was finally settled at the suggestion

¹ Mazumdar, *Explorations in Sind*, Pl. XVIII, No. 38.

² Marshall, M.D., No. 302.

³ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5791.

⁴ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12486; Marshall, H., No. 3; Gadd, *Ur*, Pl. I, No. 2.

⁵ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10889; H., Neg. 4160, No. 5.

⁶ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12763.*

⁷ Mazumdar, *op. et. loc. cit.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Marshall, M.D., No. 70.

¹⁰ Marshall, H., No. 99; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 4157.

¹¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 87; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10863.

¹² Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6127.

¹³ *Ibid.*, No. 6861.

¹⁴ Hunter, H., No. 109.

¹⁵ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5671; M.D., 1930-31, No. 5729.

¹⁶ Marshall, H., No. 54.

¹⁷ Photo, H., Neg. 3053, No. 12; M.D., 1928-29, No. 7039.

¹⁸ Marshall, M.D., No. 65.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 362.

of the *Eruvus*, another section of the Bilavas.¹ These seem to have been people who were busy in the gold mines of Northern India. Since they were digging underground burrows like the ants, they were called Eruvus (later Erumbus), 'ants'.² Two rivers watered their country.³ While busy in the Northern mountains they perhaps heard of the rising of the 'people of the Rocky River' (*Kalar*) who marched on the Bilava territory playing a number of war horns.⁴ (Where this Rocky River was we cannot say. Perhaps it was the river of Kābul which in the neighbourhood of Jalālābād passes between fantastic rocky walls.) The Eruvus informed the Minas and the Bilavas of the approaching enemy and this common danger precipitated the Bilava-Mina union.⁵ Since that day we find the Eruvus living in Naṇḍūr (they were called Naṇḍ Eruvus) and even in Vēlur (Vēl Eruvus)⁶ about which city we shall speak later. In point of fact even some Minas applied themselves to the lucrative task of digging gold, for we find a section of the Minas called Eruvu Minas.⁷ This approximation between the Minas and the Eruvus made the former very enthusiastic about the latter. They call them 'great Eruvus'.⁸

There was another tribe which for some time had not been in friendly relations with the Bilavas. They were the *Eṭkālīs*, 'the spiders', who were undoubtedly weavers. They considered themselves superior to the Bilavas.⁹ They probably were the people living in the rainy mountain pass, where there was at least one village¹⁰; they had captured a trident of the Bilavas which was venerated in a forest of the Mina-Bilava union.¹¹ The Eṭkālīs were good fighters. Their archers threw a stick or rod in a special way which seems to have been proverbial.¹² Yet at a later period Bilavas and Eṭkālīs are found united,¹³ and the flag of their union bore the figure of the moon.¹⁴ This union between the Eṭkālīs and the Bilavas, was later on made to include the Minas. Thus the Minas, the Bilavas and the Eṭkālīs became united.¹⁵ An inscription refers to the two flags of the two fishes, which was the symbol of the

¹ Photo, H., Neg. 3008, No. 1.

² They are mentioned by Herodot, *Hist.*, b. III, No. 102; Strabo, *Geogr.*, b. XV, No. 37; Plinii, *Hist. Nat.*, b. XI, Ch. 31.

³ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10269.

⁴ Marshall, M.D., No. 474.

⁵ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10323.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Marshall, M.D., No. 544.

⁸ *D.C.C.O.*, I, Pl. 25, No. 15; *Del. en Perse*, II, p. 129.

⁹ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 11196.

¹⁰ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 421 and 258.

¹¹ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3285. The predatory instincts of this mountain pass people remind one of the same practices of the people of the Khyber pass. Is this the pass mentioned in the inscriptions?

¹² Photo, H., Neg. 4395, No. 3.

¹³ Marshall, M.D., No. 60.

¹⁴ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6599.

¹⁵ Marshall, H., No. 240.

Mīna-king.¹ The seal which bears this inscription has likewise the figure of an animal with three heads : of a unicorn, of a bull and of an ibex, which were the original *totems* of these three tribes : the unicorn of the Minas, the bull of the Bilavas and the ibex on the Eṭkālis. Yet the symbol represented on the flag of this three-tribe union is mentioned in their proto-Dravidian language thus : *taṅkadirēlalar*, i.e., *the flower of the sun of reduced ray of light*.² Now since the sun of the reduced ray of light is the moon, this flower was the moon flower, viz. the lotus flower which closes its petals to the moon rays.³

There was still another tribe deeply despised by the Minas, the tribe of the Kāvāls.⁴ They were robbers. Since the houses guarded by them were not robbed by the other members of the tribe, they were called *Kāval*, which means, 'guard'. And as their thefts were committed in the dark of night, their name became synonymous with 'dark'. Their descendants are still in the U.P. and in Gujarat. There was a section of the Kāvāls styled Lakil Kāvāls,⁵ 'thieving Kāvāls' (*lak*, to lift, to steal, etc.). The Kāvāls lived partly in high mountains⁶ and partly in the plains. The latter had developed a perfect system of irrigation through canals,⁷ and carried on trade.⁸ They had ponds. A dispute about one of them is indirectly referred to. The headman of the place had to pass judgement on it.⁹

The Kāvāls were very early united with another tribe, the Kalakilas, 'united leaves',¹⁰ who are often mentioned in Purāṇic literature as Kilakilas or Kilakalas.¹¹ Some of them were merchants.¹² Their *totem* was a fish,¹³ but the flag of their union with the Kāvāls had a *liṅga* as their symbol.¹⁴ They became so intimately united that their two different names became synonymous for political purposes.¹⁵ The *liṅga* or phallus was originally worshipped amongst these two tribes only.¹⁶ They also worshipped three suns¹⁷ (perhaps the rising sun, the setting sun and the sun in

¹ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10893 ; 1929-30, Dk, No. 8184.

² Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 8121.

³ Cf. *Tanipadattrirattu*, *Opillamani Pulavar*, No. 17 (Madras, 1923).

⁴ Marshall, M.D., No. 373 ; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12963.

⁵ Photo, H., Neg. 3010, No. 5.

⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 11.

⁸ *Ibid.*, H., No. 243.

⁹ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5667.

¹⁰ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 271 and 381 ; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7321.

¹¹ Cf. Jayaswal, *History of India*, p. 163.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 464 ; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3335.

¹³ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 3696.

¹⁴ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5707.

¹⁵ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 10923.

¹⁶ Marshall, H., No. 118 ; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4364.

¹⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 3383.

the zenith). On account of this the Mīnas said of them that they had three Supreme Beings.¹ This difference in religious beliefs seems to point to a different racial origin. Perhaps these two tribes were Kolarian.

Of the two tribes the Kāvāls seem to have been more advanced. Besides twelve villages,² a number of their cities are known, Maramūr,³ Talnālūr,⁴ Nalamūr,⁵—a rich agricultural city,⁶ situated in the neighbourhood of some mountains,⁷—Tīrpūr,⁸ Dananūr,⁹ Orūr¹⁰ and Uḍaynālūr. The last two cities were very near each other.¹¹ Uḍaynālūr was once attacked by the enemies of the Kāvāls,¹² the Mīnas, helped by their friends, the Bilavas. The city was destroyed and remained in ruins for six years.¹³ The *linga* worshipped there apparently was captured by the conquerors.¹⁴ This victory took place in the month of the Jar.¹⁵ Thus it was afterwards repeated as a proverb 'that the night (death) of Uḍaynālūr was the eye (brightness, light) of the two united countries' of the Mīnas and the Bilavas.¹⁶ As an effect of this war, Orūr became a portion of Mīnād, 'in the year of the hoisting of the flag of the horn-fish'.¹⁷ The Kāvāls were forced to acknowledge the Mīna superiority¹⁸ and the Kāval-Kalakila union became tributaries to the Mīnas.¹⁹ The arrival of this tribute at the Mīna capital was commemorated with festivals that lasted eight days.²⁰ One of the clauses of the treaty of peace was that the Mīna king would also be called 'the farmer of the Crab of the (Kāval-) Kalakila union'.²¹ He was also called Mīna of the Kalakilas.²² The symbol of this new union were the Fishes of the Mīnas.²³ Consequently the latter were styled 'the Kalakilas of the Mīnas'.²⁴ In point of fact, some Kalakilas were engaged by the Mīnas to look after their farms. On the other hand some Mīnas settled among the Kāvāls,²⁵ from whom they learnt the *linga* worship. Perhaps on account of this they were styled

¹ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12963.

² Marshall, M.D., No. 478.

³ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 467.

⁴ *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 151, 203 and 330.

⁵ *Ibid.*, H., No. 161 (or 261) and 329 §.

⁶ Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 15; Photo, H., Neg. 3877, No. 14.

⁷ Marshall, M.D., No. 420.

⁸ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7462.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 5641.

¹¹ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. Dk, 8350.

¹² Marshall, H., No. 144.

¹³ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 11359.

¹⁴ Photo, H., Neg. 3088, No. 5; Photo, H., Neg. 4159, No. 4.

¹⁵ Photo, H., Neg. 4159, No. 4.

¹⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 536.

¹⁷ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8984.

¹⁸ Marshall, M.D., No. 191.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 531.

²⁰ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4181.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Dk, No. 10359.

²² Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6886.

²³ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3589.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Dk, No. 10222.

²⁵ Marshall, M.D., 373.

weak.¹ The Great Mina, or Mina king, constructed a splendid house with different apartments, in the city of Taṇnālūr of the Kāvāls, where he apparently used to live at times.² The cult of the *liṅga* was subsequently introduced in Naṇḍūr by the Mina king, but this religious innovation produced a revolution which resulted in the dethronement and imprisonment of the king.³ On the contrary the Kāvāls seem to have learned the celebration of the Nandal (now Poṅgal) festival from the Mīnas.⁴

But besides this kingdom of the Mīnas in North India, there was another kingdom of the Mīnas in the South. Its capital was Vēlūr, a city which is said to be 'outside the country', in the inscriptions of the North.⁵ Other inscriptions clearly say that it is in the South.⁶ Besides other possible means, information was carried from the south to the north and vice versa through cowherds who migrated from Vēlūr towards the North.⁷ In a poem of the Sangam period the tradition is recorded that the city of Vēlūr (of the South) was founded at a place where a *vēl* (a trident) adorned with flowers appeared.⁸ Now one of the inscriptions mentions 'the trident of Vēlūr adorned with Nandukal flowers'.⁹ Both statements seem to refer to the same tradition. Vēlūr soon grew in an extraordinary way.¹⁰ The houses in Vēlūr seem to have been numberless.¹¹ The city is always called a city of the Mīnas,¹² and the name of the Vēlūr king was also Mīna.¹³ He is at times called the Mīna of the South.¹⁴ This king was on friendly terms with the Eṭkāli Bilavas,¹⁵ for which reason, presumably some Bilavas were able to acquire properties in Vēlūr.¹⁶ The country round Vēlūr was fertile and the crops were abundant.¹⁷ Two quarters of the harvest were supposed to be for the maintenance of the temple.¹⁸ The country was ruled with extraordinary justice to the extent that it was a common saying

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 151.

³ Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions*, *Journal of the University of Bombay*, V, pp. 13-15.

⁴ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6381.

⁵ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 139 and 247; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6422.

⁶ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 60 and 400.

⁷ Marshall, M.D., No. 400.

⁸ *Pattupāṭṭu*, III, 172-173.

⁹ Marshall, M.D., Nos. 52 and 395.

¹⁰ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7145.

¹¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 286; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 9127; Photo, H., Neg. 3893, No. 4.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 555.

¹³ *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 367 and 951.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, M.D., Nos. 60.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 9127.

¹⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12293; Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8254; Marshall, M.D., Nos. 175 and 397.

¹⁸ Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 15.

that 'there is no justice outside Vēlūr'.¹ In the neighbourhood of the city there were mountains—six mountains, says an inscription²—inhabited by the Iralars³—a tribe who live in the forests of Jinji even at the present day. These mountains were apparently fortified, for they are said to be the strength of the dynasty ruling in Vēlūr.⁴ One of the main cities of the kingdom was Uḍayūr, which is said to belong to Mīnan.⁵ This city may possibly be Uraiyūr, the small village near Trichinopoly, which was the first capital of the Cōla kings.

These fortifications must have been very helpful to the Vēlūr king on the occasion of a war waged against him by a tribe of the West of his kingdom: the Kananirs (probably the Kannaḍigas or Kanarese people) who were united with the Kuḍagas (later called the Vānaras in Saṁskṛta, the people of Kuḍagu or Coorg) who were very strong people. The latter were numerous for they formed two united countries of Kuḍagas.⁶ When that invasion took place, a battle was fought at a coconut plantation near Vēlūr.⁷ The result is not mentioned, but the fact that after this we find the king of Vēlūr fighting in the very country of the Kuḍagas shows that the war was not successful to the latter and their allies. Mīna, the king of Vēlūr, with his Kalars (another tribe still in Trichinopoly District and the neighbourhood) successfully stormed one of the strongholds of the Kuḍagas.⁸ After this war, peace between the two parties was settled at a house of Vēlūr which was noted as having one window.⁹ The Mīnas of Vēlūr with the Kananirs and the Kuḍagas of the West formed a union of countries,¹⁰ the sovereignty of which would rest in the king of Vēlūr,¹¹ whose efforts obtained the constitution of this union.¹²

Paravanāḍ.

This country was the country of the Paravas (birds). They are still numerous on the Coromandel coast in South India and in Ceylon.¹³ The Paravas were a section of the Mīnas. There were

¹ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 121.

² Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6422.

³ Marshall, M.D., No. 139.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, M.D., 421; H., No. 11; Inscription 636 says that there were seven Uḍayūrs.

⁶ Marshall, H., No. 340.

⁷ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8254.

⁸ Marshall, M.D., No. 321.

⁹ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 329.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 397.

¹¹ Photo, H., Neg. 3893, No. 4.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 336.

¹³ During the time when it was a fashion to claim Āryan descent, the Paravas started to call themselves Bharatar, identifying themselves with the Bharatas of the Vedic period. The Mohenjo Daro inscriptions clearly show that their ancient and real name was Paravir.

two subdivisions of the Paravas : Pagal Paravas and Nila Paravas, i.e. Sun Paravas¹ and Moon Paravas.² The Moon Paravas seem to have been the more important of the two. They constituted one fourth of the whole Mīna stock.³ In the middle of their lands, the exact location of which cannot be now ascertained, the sign of the moon was hoisted.⁴ The Minas proper and the Paravas remained always together.⁵ They were also in friendly relations with the Eṭkālis⁶ as the latter were the Mīna's friends. Yet the country where the Paravas lived was sometimes called Paravanād—once only in the inscriptions⁷—on account of their political importance and their riches.⁸ Properly speaking, it was only a portion of Mīnād.

Their occupations were fishing, as the rest of the Minas, trade⁹ and agriculture.¹⁰ They had also coconut plantations.¹¹ Their country was irrigated by canals. One of them had to be of considerable length for they spent more than a year in constructing it. They commenced it in the month of the Fish—the last month of the year—and the work was not completed till the month of the Fish of the following year.¹²

Their main city was called Paravirpalḷi,¹³ 'the city of the Paravas'. No other city is known up to now but an inscription mentions six hamlets which were united (for administrative purposes, evidently) thanks to the efforts of one of the Paravas.¹⁴ One of the hamlets of their country—we do not know whether it was one of the six mentioned just now—was called Malakopa.¹⁵ Its name shows that it was situated in the neighbourhood of mountains. Yet it had some coconut plantations.¹⁶ Barter was being practised in this hamlet.¹⁷

The king of the Paravas always received the title of Minavan, and his banner had two fishes painted on it.¹⁸ The Paravas were the

¹ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6266.

² Marshall, M.D., No. 36.

³ *Ibid.* The Paravas of South India and Ceylon are Moon Paravas. Their tradition is that they come from the moon.

⁴ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7790.

⁵ Photo, H., Neg. 3012, No. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12877.

⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Nos. 12877 and 12688.

⁸ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5785.

⁹ Marshall, M.D., No. 228.

¹⁰ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12688.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 4052.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 237.

¹³ Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXI, No. 338.

¹⁴ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5703.

¹⁵ Marshall, M.D., No. 89.

¹⁶ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7539 ; 1930-31, No. 122201.

¹⁷ Marshall, M.D., No. 408.

¹⁸ Marshall, M.D., No. 8 ; Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12688. The title of the Pāṇḍya kings of Madura, the sovereigns of the Paravas of South India in the historical period also was Minavan and he had two fishes as his *lāncana*. Was he a descendant of the ancient king of Paravanād ?

cause of the union of the whole of Mīnād about which we shall speak presently.

Marāṅkotipād.

This country is called the Middle Country.¹ This denomination seems to place it near the mountains which are called 'middle',² which perhaps are meant to be the range of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush. This would place the country of the Woodpecker in the northernmost regions of India, which seems to be confirmed by the denomination of white given to this country.³ Being so far north it would be easily covered with snow. Though the country was mountainous, yet there were also coconuts growing in the plains.⁴ Portions of the country were cultivated⁵ and there was a canal called the 'canal of the Ram',⁶ but in general the country seems to have been somewhat backward, for no feast of Nandal⁷ was celebrated at the end of the harvest season⁸ and the people were despised.⁹ Yet the people lived in houses.¹⁰

The people of the country were *Vēlālir* or Velālas, who are still so numerous in South India. They are called Vēlālir of the Middle Mountains¹¹ while another inscription mentions 'the white mountains of him of the Vēlālirs',¹² a phrase which seems to imply that the 'white mountains' were within the dominions of the king of the Velālas. What were these white mountains? There is still in western Afghānistān a range of high mountains covered with snow during great part of the year, which are called *Safed-koh*, i.e. white mountains.¹³ Probably these are the mountains referred to in the inscriptions. These middle mountains were near the frontier.¹⁴

Evidently the Velālas worshipped the trident, *vēl*, of the Supreme Being, for they take their name from it. They also worshipped the *linga*.¹⁵ They exercised trade¹⁶ and successfully tilled the land.¹⁷ They had three canals¹⁸ about which an investigation was carried

¹ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, No. Dk, 9069.

² *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 219.

³ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 12182.

⁴ Now called Poṅgal.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 130.

⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10551.

⁸ The word *koh* is not of Arabic origin. Its Āryan origin is not very clear either. May it perhaps be traced to the Dravidian word *kō*, 'mountain'?

⁹ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6689 (duplicate).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. Dk, 10551.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 4883.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 397.

¹³ Marshall, H., Nos. 76 and 346.

¹⁴ Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 12a.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 3500.

¹⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 306.

¹⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 3631.

¹⁸ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6127.

out.¹ One of the inscriptions speaks of the 'illustrious rulers of the victorious Velālas'.² This shows that in a war the Velālas had obtained a victory, on account of which they were exultant for a time.³ Against whom was this war waged? The facts that we find the Velālas forming a union with the country of the Mīnas, and that these unions have on many occasions followed wars and victories seem to suggest a victory over the Mīnas. There is, indeed, among the inscriptions a clear reference to a victory over the Mīnas which apparently refers to this occasion. One of the seals instead of bearing the figure of an animal has the representation of something that looks like an octopus. Yet, it is the skin of the unicorn, the head and horn of which are clearly seen to the right. The skin is spread showing the skin of the four legs and of the tail in the shape of five appendices. The representation of the skin in this guise evidently reminds one of a trophy of war. The unicorn, the symbol of the Mīnas, was *morally killed*, and its skin is taken as a trophy of victory by the killers. The destruction of the unicorn supposed a victory of the enemies of the Mīnas over the whole tribe. The inscription on this seal reads as follows: 'The Supreme Being of Mīna is help'.⁴ Mīna seems to be the name of the ruler of the Velālas. He, after showing the trophy of victory, attributes it to the help received from the Supreme Being.⁵

The union between the Velālas of Maraṅkotiṇāḍ and the country of the Mīnas was beyond doubt carried out as an effect of this victory, for the benefit of both the tribes.⁶ This union was finally settled in the house of some Sun Paravas who were the friends of the villagers of the Woodpecker country.⁷ According to his settlement the Mīna king was in future the king of Mīnāḍ and Maraṅkotiṇāḍ.⁸ The symbol of their common flag was the sign of the moon,⁹ which was the original symbol of the Velālas.¹⁰

Under the Mīna régime soon the Woodpecker country made rapid progress. In one year many houses were built¹¹ where perhaps there were miserable huts before. Some Mīnas settled in Maraṅkotiṇāḍ and cultivated their lands as in their own country,¹² at the end of the harvest season celebrating the Nandal festival.¹³ Thus

¹ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 11794.

² *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3050, No. 15.

³ Marshall, H., No. 25.

⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, Pl. XII, No. 25.

⁵ Cf. Heras, *The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People*, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

⁶ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7415.

⁷ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7790.

⁸ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8252.

⁹ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10551.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3050, No. 15.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, H., Neg. 3877, No. 7.

¹² Marshall, M.D., No. 397.

¹³ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 306.

this feast was introduced into the land, and was celebrated afterwards in the same way as in *Mīnād*.¹

Ēlnād.

This country, which means the seven countries, is not very often referred to in the inscriptions.² Coconut plantations existed in it.³

Besides the above information about persons and places, several tribes, cities and villages are spoken of in the inscriptions which cannot at this stage be located in any of the four mentioned *nāds*. We shall enumerate them below in alphabetical order with the scanty information obtained about each.

Tribes.

1. *Aḷinas* (Squirrels).⁴ A tribe mentioned in the *R̥gveda* as having fought against Sudas in the battle of the ten kings.

2. *Kōlis* (Fowls).⁵ They are still in the neighbourhood of Bombay and other places in Western India. In their country there were three rivers.⁶ The favours of their king are mentioned.⁷ Apparently there was another dynasty claiming the throne; it was called the 'back dynasty'.⁸

3. *Mūnkālir* (three-legged people).⁹

4. *Nāgas* (Serpents). Very frequently mentioned in Purāṇic literature. Found only once in the inscriptions up to now. Probably they were Kolarians. They believed in spirits or demons.¹⁰

5. *Nalakir* (People that rise high). They are said to lead a 'happy' life.¹¹ Perhaps the house of merriment mentioned in another inscription¹² belonged to them.

6. *Nālkālir* (Four-legged people).¹³ They were agriculturists. The good thrashing of their harvest is referred to.¹⁴

7. *Parcanir* (Drum-players). It is the word corresponding to the name of the present Pariahs, though there is no foundation for identifying the social status of both these groups of people. The present pariahs are also drum-players. The two united countries of the *Parcanir* are mentioned once.¹⁵

¹ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7415.

² Marshall, M.D., No. 231.

³ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, Nos. 4663 and 5227; M.D., 1930-31, No. 4663.

⁴ Marshall, M.D., No. 172.

⁵ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 207.

⁶ Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 2.

⁷ Marshall, M.D., Pl. CXVI, No. 22.

⁸ Photo, H., Neg. 4876, No. 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7115.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 5717.

¹¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 122.

¹² Photo, M.D., 1930-31, No. 4562.

¹³ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5128.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 8106.

¹⁵ Marshall, H., No. 317. Cf. Nelson, *The Madura Country*, p. 75 (Madras, 1868).

Cities and Villages.

1. *Arirūr* (City of Rivers).¹
2. *Irūr* (Double City). That is the reason why the inscription speaks of 'one Irūr'.² Its inhabitants enjoyed great material prosperity.³
3. *Irupaṭi* (Living Village). 'The goddess *Mīnkaṇi* was worshipped in this village.'⁴ She seems to have been the forerunner of *Minākṣi* of Madura.
4. *Kūḍumale* (United Mountains).⁵
5. *Kuḍavūr* (City of the Water Jar). The lands which were just outside this city belonged to *Nālūrmale*.⁶ Two *Minas* were living there.⁷
6. *Kūḍukopa* (united hamlets).⁸
7. *Mūnmale* (three mountains).⁹ Apparently it was a weak place at first.¹⁰ Afterwards it was fortified.¹¹ The city appears to have had many houses.¹² It belonged to one landlord.¹³ A *Bilava* army attacked this city once.¹⁴
8. *Nālmale* (four mountains).¹⁵ It is called the 'silver *Nālmale*',¹⁶ perhaps because it was often covered with snow.
9. *Nankopa* (friendly hamlet). It had cultivated lands.¹⁷
10. *Nanpaṭi* (friendly village).¹⁸
11. *Talirpaṭi* (prosperous village).¹⁹
12. *Uyarēlpali* (the city of the high sun). This city was for a time in a flourishing state, but the end of its prosperity is once referred to.²⁰ Perhaps this calamity is connected with the end of the rulers of the city or of the whole dynasty, of 'the carriers of domination' as the epigraph puts it.²¹

When new inscriptions will be unearthed, the above scanty information will be complemented and the knowledge of the people and the land of those days will eventually become complete.

¹ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 6429.

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5969.

⁷ Photo, M.D., 1930-31, Dk, No. 10231.

⁹ Marshall, M.D., No. 113.

¹¹ Marshall, M.D., No. 140; Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567; 1929-30, No. Dk, 7947; 1930-31, No. 7947.

¹² Photo, H., Neg. 3863, No. 5; M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567.

¹³ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5567.

¹⁴ Photo, M.D., 1929-30, Dk, No. 7947; 1930-31, No. 7947.

¹⁵ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 5341.

¹⁷ Photo, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7679.

¹⁹ Marshall, M.D., No. 300.

²¹ *Ibid.*, No. 7734.

² Marshall, M.D., No. 162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, M.D., No. 388.

⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 420.

⁸ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1928-29, No. 7061.

¹⁰ Photo, H., Neg. 4156, No. 5.

¹⁶ Marshall, M.D., No. 438.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, M.D., 1930-31, No. 8224.

²⁰ Photo, M.D., 1928-30, No. 5473.

THE ASVINS AND THE GREAT GODDESS

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

It is a legitimate and interesting speculation to seek to throw light on Vedic religion by reference to earlier religious phenomena in Asia, and the theory of Professor Przyluski¹ which finds for Aditi a prototype in the Great Goddess deserves full consideration. It depends, however, on a very bold identification. The goddess Anāhita in the *Avesta* is pictured as bearing a bundle of rods. At Rome and in Greece flagellation formed part of the ritual of the Great Goddess. In the *Atharvaveda* Aditi is given the epithet *madhukaśā*, 'she whose whip is honey'. Flagellation is a well-known rite² to renew the life of creatures, to augment their vigour, and to stimulate their powers of reproduction. Hence we can understand how the Great Goddess in India is stated to bear a whip, or in Iran, Greece and Italy rods. If in the *Atharvaveda* the whip of the goddess is said to be honey or is compared to honey, it is because honey of all foods is that which gives vigour and supports life. The whip and the honey share the same function of stimulating and renewing life. It was then natural to unite the two ideas in the epithet *madhukaśā*.

The ingenuity of the comparison must not disguise its boldness. Is there the slightest proof that the Vedic Indians conceived of Aditi as bearing a *madhukaśā*? Professor Przyluski assures us that the *Atharvaveda* gives her this epithet in a hymn 'consacré à la Grande Déesse Aditi', but this unfortunately does not concur with the facts. The hymn of the *Atharvaveda* concerned³ is by tradition *madhudevatyam āśvinam*, and it is naturally and normally regarded as glorifying the honey whip itself.⁴ In the usual fantastic style of these Atharvan hymns that instrument is declared to be mother of the Ādityas, daughter of the Vasus, breath of creatures, navel of immortality, gold coloured, dripping with ghee. This is a very different thing from describing Aditi as *madhukaśā*, and there is a world of difference between the case of Anāhita, who may fairly be deemed an intruder in the *Avesta*, and that of Aditi.

¹ *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, i (1936), 129-35.

² Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, 342.

³ ix, 1.

⁴ Contrast Przyluski, *IHQ.*, x (1934), 422, 423.

We are faced with the fact, therefore, that we have no Vedic evidence of the connection of Aditi and a *madhukaśā*, a fact which is an insuperable difficulty in the way of our accepting Professor Przyluski's theory. Further, what really is the *madhu* with which the Aśvins, not Aditi, are so often connected? The natural assumption is that it is the dew, the phenomenon with which these deities are most easily connected.¹ Of flagellation as a fertility rite in their regard we hear nothing:

Moreover we are assured that the Aśvins and Aditi are deities of the same nature. But this view has again no foundation in the Veda, once we dismiss the *madhukaśā* which is not her's. Aditi has remarkably few points of contact with the Aśvins. Her essential characteristics² are to be the mother of the Ādityas, and to release from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. It is essential to note that her connection with animals is almost non-existent. Like all the gods, but in her case very rarely, she is occasionally asked to bless her worshippers, their children, and their cattle. But of Aditi as a *pótnia thērôn* we learn nothing, and a grouping of Aditi and the Aśvins has absolutely no support in Vedic literature.

It follows, therefore, that any effort to investigate the character of the Aśvins which is based on the theory that they are essentially connected with Aditi rests on a false basis. But it is interesting to follow the argument to see if it throws any light on the character of the Aśvins by a parallel with the Greek Dioskouroi. M. Ch. Picard³ has stressed the fact that one line of evolution of the personality of the Goddess-Mother led in Crete to the representation of the goddess with human supporters in lieu of animals. It is claimed that we are to see in Greek art a gradual development from a *pótnia thērôn* to a *pótnia híppôn*, and finally to the goddess supported by two cavaliers,⁴ as in a relief at Thasos, which by some authorities is regarded as Helen with the Dioskouroi, but which must be regarded as ultimately derived from the Great Goddess and her attendants.

Without discussing the validity of this theory for Greek religion, its application to Vedic relation must be considered. It rests on the assertions: (1) that the Aśvins are attendants on the Goddess-Mother in the Veda, and (2) that they are sometimes anthropomorphic deities riding on a chariot, sometimes 'des dieux chevalins', sometimes associated with other animals. In *Rgveda*, i, 118 falcons

¹ Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 209.

² Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 122.

³ RHR., 1928, No. 2, pp. 60-77.

⁴ The riders are to be regarded as a contamination of horses and men as attendants on the goddess.

bear their car, and consequently, we are assured, that of the Great Goddess. The conclusion, however, is purely mistaken; the Veda is silent on the association of Aditi with the Aśvins. It is therefore impossible to accept the view that the *Rgveda* preserves the memory of the transformations of the divine trio, or that, as in the pre-hellenic world, we find a pótnia thērôn, a pótnia híppôn, and a pótnia andrôn. Whether we are to see in the figure of a woman on a Harappa seal a representation of the Goddess-Mother, as Sir John Marshall suggests,¹ must remain doubtful. Her figure is separated by an inscription from two animals at the left of the seal, which may be lions or tigers and be compared with the zoomorphic genii whose representations have been found at Ur and in the Egean area. We cannot, therefore feel any certainty as to the suggestion, but in any case it is far from probable that the religion of the *Rgveda* was influenced by that of Harappa.²

More important still is the question whether the Aśvins were equine deities, in any sense of that term. Professor Przyluski refers to his ingenious doctrine³ that the term Nāsatya consists of *na* and *satya*, the former part being an affix similar to the *na* in *patana* and *varuṇa*, non-Aryan words, while *satya* is to be explained as meaning 'horse' as in modern Muṇḍā *sadam*. It does not appear why *na* should be prefixed, and the view that the lengthening is due to a desire to avoid the apparent meaning 'untrue' is not exactly convincing. The theory of course is supported by the conjecture that the Asokan Sātiyaputa and Satakani are identic, meaning 'son of the horse', namely that steed which appears in the Aśvamedha, while the Satvants are the descendants of the ancestral horse. It must be confessed that all of this argument is of the most speculative and unconvincing character. There is not the slightest evidence that any prince claimed descent from the horse sacrificed in the Aśvamedha. The king desired offspring, no doubt, and was ready to resort to a magic rite to secure it, but that the child thus won was not to be reckoned his probably never entered his head.

But even if we accept the remarkable compound Nāsatya as the non-Aryan equivalent of Aśvin, we are not brought to the Aśvins as horses or as zoomorphic. It is clear that we have no Vedic evidence that the Aśvins were ever conceived as having the form of horses, though Oldenberg conjectured⁴ that this might once have been the

¹ *Mohenjo-daro*, i, 52, 70, pl. xii, 12.

² See Keith, *Ojha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 65, 66.

³ *IHQ.*, ix, 88-91.

⁴ *Religion des Veda*, p. 73. He admitted that the deities were in Indo-European times anthropomorphic.

case. The term Nāsatya also on Professor Przyluski's own showing makes no such assertion. It merely means 'having horses', and the Vedic literature uniformly understands this of the steeds of the chariot, not, it must be stressed, of steeds ridden by the Ásvins. Once again we have no parallel with the Hellenic or Asianic evidence. Nor frankly, it may be added, when we remember the connection of the Indo-Aryans with the horse, is it easy to understand why the Ásvins should bear a non-Aryan name as early as is revealed by the Mitanni evidence. We must assume apparently that the non-Aryan name so prevailed over the Aryan that it reached Mitanni. It is much more plausible that we are after all to find an Aryan etymology.

Yet another ingenious comparison remains to be noted. In the Vedic period, we are told, it was the fashion to represent the goddess and her attendants under the form of a divine tree surmounted by two birds. The evidence for this view will not bear investigation. It rests on *Rgveda*, x, 114, 3, a hymn to the All-gods, where we learn of a maiden with four tresses and two birds, in whom Bergaigne¹ recognized the Ásvins. This is a most improbable conjecture; the context suggests that Agni and Soma are meant, while the maiden may be the altar. The other verse cited is equally enigmatic; it is i, 164, 20 where we learn of two birds on a tree, one of which eats the sweet figs, while the other contemplates only. To find the Ásvins here is really a tour de force. Nor is the conjecture helped by the further conjecture that another Indus valley seal shows us a sacred tree with horned heads attached.² Whether that be so or not, it throws no light on the *Rgveda*.

Finally Professor Przyluski seeks to show that in Vedic religion, as in Syria the Great Goddess has been transformed into the sun. It is unnecessary to discuss the Syrian evidence, but it is important to note that, as adduced, it can hardly be said to represent the fusion of the goddess and the sun. Rather the development seems to be one in which the sun supersedes the goddess, who earlier appears as supporting the solar disk. In the Veda, however, we have only the connection of Sūryā and the Ásvins, who appear earlier as her husbands, later,³ no doubt to meet more sophisticated tastes, as groomsmen at the wedlock of Soma to Sūryā. There is no question in Vedic literature of any primacy of Sūryā over the Ásvins, whose willing consort she is. She is not mother of the sun, nor is she aided by the Ásvins. All that is necessary to explain her relations with

¹ *Religion Védique*, ii, 489.

² Marshall, *op. cit.*, ii, 390; iii, pl. cxii, n. 387.

³ RV., x, 85. We have a like doubt in the Yama-Yamī legend in x, 10.

them is the fact that they are connected with the light and she shares that characteristic. Appropriately their chariot is *hiranya-tvac* or *sūrya-tvac*, for there is on it a seat for her.

One must, therefore, conclude that in the Great Goddess and her attendants, originally animals, later anthropomorphic, we cannot find the prototype of the Vedic Aditi and the Aśvins, nor is Sūryā a revised version of Aditi. Dogmatism on the origin of these deities is doubtless unwise, but the new theory on testing fails to help to a definite result. It is especially worth notice that Vedic tradition does not yield to the temptation to represent the Aśvins as themselves horses. Even in the legend by which Yāska illumines or embroiders *Rgveda*, x, 17 there is no suggestion that they were born in horse shape,¹ and the *Rgveda* shows no trace of the legend of the *Nirukta*. The view that the phenomena of the morning twilight are meant has recently been defended, and the suggestion has been made that their style as Aśvins denotes them as the protectors of horses,² but to this point it must be objected that we have no clear allusion to any such special connection.

Aditi's name seems as clearly Aryan as that of the Aśvins themselves. Professor Przyluski, however, finds³ for her an explanation in the variant names of the Great Goddess found in Iran as Anaitis, Anāhita or Anāhīd, in Palestine as Anat, in Syria and Asia Minor as Nanai or Nanā or Tanais, and in Carthage as Tanit, though the vocalization is uncertain. We are invited to compare the existence in the Austro-Asiatic group of a sound intermediate between *t* and *n*, and to remember that the Austro-Asiatic languages constituted a large part of the pre-Aryan substratum, and that their connection, if not their kinship, with Sumerian is very probable. An original Tanai/Nanai may have passed through Semitic to Iran and the Vedic language, this stage accounting for the *-li* element in Anaitis and Aditi as a mark of the feminine. The *d* is originally the pre-Aryan sound borrowed without its nasal element and made sonant according to the tendency of Indo-Aryan, while the diphthong has been reduced to *i*. Frankly the whole of this reasoning is very forced, and would be justifiable only if there were no possibility otherwise of explaining Aditi. Professor Przyluski urges that Aditi is sharply distinguished from the gods by the fact that her sovereignty is unlimited and she is superior to them, while the gods have a limited power and are superior to goddesses. But that

¹ *Nirukta*, xii, 10. It is noteworthy that none of the commentators treat the Aśvins as horses, despite the equine forms assumed by Vivasvant and Saranyū.

² See G. C. Jhala, *Journal of University of Bombay*, i (1933), 247-74.

³ *IHQ.*, x (1934), 411-14.

account of Aditi is not really in accord with the Vedic evidence as fully set out by Professor Macdonell,¹ who gives an ingenious and very plausible explanation of her personality. From the term *aditeḥ putrāḥ*, 'sons of freedom', analogous to *sahasḥ putrāḥ*, 'sons of strength', may have sprung up a goddess Aditi, much as Indra is given a mother Śavasī, because he is a son of might (*śavasah*) and later a wife Śacī, because he is lord of might (*śacīpatiḥ*). Even if we do not accept this view, the sense 'freedom from fetters' in its physical and moral applications would explain all that we are told of Aditi, including her pantheistic aspect in *Rgveda*, i, 89, 10 : 'Aditi is the heaven, the atmosphere ; Aditi is mother, father, son ; Aditi is all the gods and the five tribes ; Aditi is all that has been born and all that shall be born'. This is at least as simple an explanation as the view that the character of the Vedic Aditi is due to reflection on the qualities implicit in the conception of the Great Goddess.

¹ *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 120-3.

A FRESH HOARD OF SO-CALLED PURI KUSHAN COINS

By SUSHIL K. BOSE

The present hoard, consisting of 93 pieces of the so-called Puri Kushan coins, was discovered in a village in the district of Manbhum close to where it borders Singbhum. These coins could not have been buried very deep as the whole lot came out as a villager was ploughing his fields. Nothing like any mould or earthen pot containing them could be found. The entire lot was in the possession of Mr. Karuna K. Datta-Gupta who very kindly handed them over to me for the publication of this paper.

As is well known, similar coins have been unearthed from time to time in large numbers and enough has been written on them by scholars like Walsh and R. D. Banerji beside the standard opinions of Rapson and Smith. In this paper I venture to suggest some new points for the consideration of scholars.

In 1858 a hoard of these coins was discovered in the Ganjam district. Mr. Walter Elliot opened a discussion on them.¹ He was greatly surprised by the close affinity of the coins with those of the Indo-Scythian group, more especially with the coins of 'Kanerki'. Elliot observes that no traces of Scythian domination have been met with so far to the south, but it is hardly possible to look at the design and not to identify it with those impressed on the money of that race. The first systematic study of these coins, however, was made by Dr. Hoernle.² In 1893 a number of them were found in the Puri district. He described these coins as Puri Kushans, an epithet which has since stuck to them, very wrongly of course. Dr. Hoernle divided these coins into five classes and though he did not make any definite statements he was almost certain that the coins could be identified with those of the Indo-Scythian class. The obverse shows the well-known standing figure of King Kanishka pointing with his right hand down to the fire altar; the reverse shows figures of MAO or MHPO, AEPO, and OADO as seen on 'Kanerki' coins. Any one who looks into the illustration of this class of coins in Smith's Catalogue will at once approve the correctness of the above statement.

¹ The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, edited by the Committee of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary Asiatic Society, pages 75-77 and 78 (No. 7, New Series, April to September, 1838).

² Proc. A.S.B., 1895, pp. 61ff.

But we can hardly appreciate the value of these coins if they cannot be made to yield information beyond this description. Dr. Hoernle assumed that these coins were intended for temple offerings, particularly because they were common round about Puri wherein was situated the famous Hindu temple. But this is a mere assumption which is very much weakened by the fact that they have been found at various places and spread over a very wide area. We quite, however, agree with the view of Hoernle that these coins could not have been used and imitated from the Kushan coins unless the latter had still been current in Northern India. There would have been no object in copying an obsolete coinage. Leaving aside the districts of Puri and Ganjam, we now find that these coins have been found in Ranchi, Manbhum and Singbhum—in fact a big portion of what in ancient times constituted one of the forest kingdoms. Regarding the date of these coins Rapson¹ never liked to place them posterior to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Smith observes in his Catalogue 'it is impossible to fix the date of the excessively rude coins They may have been issued by the rulers of Kalinga in the fourth or fifth century'² From an examination of a coin of the above class bearing the legend 'Taṅka' Mr. R. D. Banerji³ thought it might safely be asserted that the Puri Kushan coins were issued some time before the middle of the seventh century or in the sixth. So far then the question of the date of these coins might be said to have been roughly settled.

The broad problem that now awaits our decision is to find out what rump of the Scythian power lingered on in the eastern part of Central India whose base currency consisted of these peculiar copper coins. It is well known that in the hey day of the Kushan power their influence extended as far east as Bengal. Through the administrative machinery of the Viceroys or Mahākshatrapas of the great Kushans a new element was introduced in the body politic of Eastern India. The Śakas and Pulindas were imported from one part of India to another for administrative purposes.⁴ This newly introduced element, though alien, formed a solid block in the society in Eastern India, and dominated even the Ganges valley up till the rise of the Guptas. Associated with these Śakas are found the Maruṇḍas or Muruṇḍas in the dynastic accounts of the Purāṇas among the list of alien races which ruled India.⁵ We have now to follow the

¹ Indian Coins, p. 13.

² I.M.C., Vol. I, pp. 64-65.

³ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, 1919, p. 84.

⁴ Jayaswal, History of India (150-350 A.D.), p. 43.

⁵ Pargiter, P.T., p. 46.

vicissitude of the Śaka Muruṇḍa power. Almost half a century back, Prof. Sylvan Lévi brought to a focus all the available information on the Muruṇḍas in his paper entitled *Deux Peuples Mecounus*.¹ There was an embassy from China to Fu-Nan (Siam) in the third century A.D. Just at the time had returned from India the envoys sent thither by the king of Fu-Nan. The Chinese thus met the Siamese envoys in Fu-Nan and received an account of India from them. In this account we find mention made also of a king of a country in India called Meou-loun, in which name Lévi recognizes the word Muruṇḍa. The Chinese account represents this Muruṇḍa as a suzerain of great power to whom distant kingdoms owed fealty and whose capital was apparently Pāṭaliputra. The French scholar has also noticed how in the Jaina books the Muruṇḍarāja is said to be residing in Pāṭaliputra.² The question now naturally arises as to who could be these Muruṇḍas. As we have just narrated, during the first three centuries of the Christian era the great portion of the Ganges valley was dominated by the Muruṇḍas. It is strange indeed that not a single coin has been found which can be ascribed to these people. What we, however, find is the supremacy of the Kushānas spread over this region as is shown by their coins. It is then highly probable that the Kushānas are intended by the term Muruṇḍa. And Pāṭaliputra, the seat of the Muruṇḍarāja, was a satrapy of the Kushānas. We might then guess with reasonable probability that the wave of Kushan conquest rolled far to the east of Mathura and Benares and did not stop before it swept Bihar and Bengal. Though inscriptions are lacking in support of our statement we can, however, fall back on the evidence furnished by coins in this respect.³

It is well known that the rise of the Imperial Guptas greatly contributed towards the decline of this Scythic power. As the Gangetic valley was in due course reclaimed by the Guptas the more westerly portion of the lingering Scythians receded to the north-west. To them who were spread over in the eastern parts of the empire, there was only one recourse left and that was to slip into the wilderness of the Āṭavika territories. To this latter class we shall now confine our attention. With the establishment of the Gupta supremacy in the Dabhāla and the Central Provinces these alien people probably gradually retraced their steps to the extreme eastern fringes of the Vindhya. In this region they must have lived

¹ In *Melanges Charles de Harlez* (Leiden, 1896), pp. 176-85.

² Merutunga's *Prabandhacintāmani*, Bombay, 1888, p. 27.

³ In the J.P.A.S.B., Vol. 28, pp. 128ff., Mr. N. G. Majumdar announces the discovery of three Kushan coins from Bengal.

and ruled, though locally, during the sixth and seventh centuries. It is very difficult to surmise what status they enjoyed while existing in such a state. What seems likely is that they retained their own manners and customs and were in due course, fused into Indian society. Of this latter process there is no direct evidence except certain foreign names in some inscriptions of the period (cf. Saggiyayana in E.I., Vol. IX, p. 287 ; Turkaśarman in E.I., Vol. V, p. 120, note 14 ; Turkkiya-yajvan in E.I., Vol. IX, p. 132).¹

* Now that the so-called Puri Kushan coins are found in the districts of Manbhum, Singbhum and Ranchi² which constitute the greater portion of the Chota Nagpur division, I would suggest that the above coins formed the daily currency of the Murundas whose story we have just narrated. Living in the wilderness these foreigners had very little occasion to come in contact with the Gold or Silver coins of the Imperial Guptas. These so-called Puri Kushan coins, then, appear to possess purely a local and dynastic value. In the annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1924-25, pp. 131-132, a suggestion has been made to drop the name 'Puri Kushan' and designate this class of coins as 'Oriya Kushan' because a hoard was found in the State of Mayurbhanj in 1925. As has been made clear, I most decidedly demur at any suggestion of attributing a geographical name to the coins.

I would now give a brief description of the coins that I possess. As said before, my hoard consists of 93 pieces. With the exception of six coins the rest are not well trimmed and invariably show protruding edges. What was long ago suspected by Walsh seems now to be confirmed. The region from which my coins come (which, incidentally, I might say is not very far from the provenance of Mr. Walsh's coins) most likely was a mint area where the coins were actually manufactured. And the hoard which I am discussing, seems never to have been used by men. The figures in almost all of the coins show no sign of wearing which a used coin generally shows. All of my coins fall in Class III of Hoernle's division. The weight varies between 120 grains and 70 grains. The obverse shows figure with right arm curved upwards and left arm extended. The boots are occasionally curved upwards. The reverse shows figure with arm curved upwards, no left arm is visible, instead, crescent is seen above the left shoulder.

¹ For the last two references I am indebted to Mr. J. C. Ghose.

² A gold coin of Huviska type, at Belvadag is described in J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 231-2, and a copper coin of Kanishka similar to that illustrated in I.M.C., Vol. I, Plate XI, Fig. 11, has been found in the Karra thana of the same district. (See Walsh, J.B.O.R.S., Vol. V, p. 78.)

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

By B. C. LAW

I The *Prāgjyotiṣas*

If the story of Kṛṣṇa's fight with the demons, Muru and Naraka, as told in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,¹ the Mahābhārata² and the Harivaṃśa³ can be interpreted to have any ethnological significance, then undoubtedly the Prāgjyotiṣas were a people of non-Aryan extraction. The Epics definitely describe the country of the Prāgjyotiṣas as an *asura* or *dānava* kingdom ruled over by the demons, Naraka and Muru, with whom the leaders of Aryanism were in frequent conflict. The Puranic description of Naraka, the asura leader, attributes to him immense power and strength that baffled and perplexed even Indra. The environs of his capital city, called Prāgjyotiṣapura, were defended by nooses, the Puranic description states, constructed by the demon, Muru.⁴ Of course the Aryan leader, Kṛṣṇa, is described to have got the better of his fight with the demons which may be interpreted as one of the exploits of the history of the spread of Aryan influence in the east.

The Mahābhārata⁵ in other places refers to Prāgjyotiṣa as a Mleccha kingdom ruled over by a king named Bhagadatta 'who is always spoken of in respectful and even eulogistic terms'. Bhagadatta is styled as a Yavana,⁶ probably denoting that he did not belong to the Aryan fold. The Udyoga Parva of the Great Epic describes him as the son of Naraka, the Prāgjyotiṣa king, vanquished by Kṛṣṇa, and as an ally of Duryodhana.⁷ Among his retainues Bhagadatta counted the Cīnas (the people of China),⁸ and if the Kālayavana of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa refers to the same king, as Wilson seems to think,⁹ he also 'assembled many myriads of Mlecchas and barbarians'

¹ 5, XXIX, Wilson's edn., 88ff.

² Vana P., xii. 488 ; Udyoga P., xlvii. 1887-92.

³ Hari V., cxxi. 6791-9 ; cxxii. 6873, etc.

⁴ Prāgjyotiṣapurasyāsitsamantācchatayojanam
ācīta Mauravañh pāṣaiḥ kṣurāntirmurdhijotam ||

⁵ Sabhā P., xxv. 1000-1 ; *ibid.*, L. 1834 ; Udyoga P., clxvi. 5804 ; Karna P., v. 104-5.

⁶ Sabhā P., xii. 578-80 ; *ibid.*, L. 1834-6.

⁷ Chap. IV.

⁸ Udyoga P., xviii. 584-5.

⁹ Wilson's Viṣṇu P., Book V., pp. 54-55.

among his followers. The Mahābhārata mentions him as a king of boundless might (*aparyanta-bala*) and ruling over (the country of) Muru and Naraka.¹

According to the Mahābhārata, Prāgjyotiṣa was situated in the northern region of India²; but the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa places it in the eastern region, once along with the Brahmottaras (a misreading for Suhmottaras), the pravijayas (perhaps Prāvṛṣeys), the Bhārgavas, the Jñeyamallakas, the Madras, the Videhas, the Tāmraliptakas, the Mallas and the Magadhas, and at another place with the Candreśvaras, the Khaśas, the Magadhas and the Lauhiyas.³ The mountainous regions called Antar-giri, Vahir-giri and Upa-giri in the Great Epic⁴ appear to comprise the lower slopes of the Himalayas and the Nepalese Terai; and it is not unlikely that Prāgjyotiṣas lived contiguously as Bhagadatta is called Śailālaya.⁵ His country was also probably contiguously situated to those of the Kirātas and Cīnas who formed his retinue.⁶ According to the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi, the Prāgjyotiṣa was the same as Kāmarūpa,⁷ though in the Raghuvamśa, the Prāgjyotiṣas and Kāmarūpas are described as two different peoples. Generally speaking the two countries came in later times to be regarded as the same. In the Kalikā Purāṇa,⁸ for example, the capital of Kāmarūpa is called Prāgjyotiṣapura which has been identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhātī. The Raghuvamśa seems to locate Prāgjyotiṣa beyond the Brahmaputra,⁹ but Kālidāsa's knowledge about distant geographical locations is not always very satisfactory. For all practical purposes Prāgjyotiṣa may, therefore, be identified with the whole of Assam proper along with northern Bengal as far as Rangpur and Cooch Behar which is the territory comprised by Kāmarūpa, according to the Yoginitantra.¹⁰

Bhagadatta, as we have seen, was a *mleccha*, and his people also *mlecchas* or *yavanas*, i.e. non-Aryans, but the Rāmāyaṇa ascribes the

¹ Muruṁ ca Narakam caiva śāsti yo Yavanādhipaḥ |
aparyantabala rājā praticyām Varūṇo yatha ||
Bhagadatto mahārājo vṛddhastava pituḥ sakḥā |
sa vācā praṇatastasya karmaṇā ca viśeṣataḥ ||

Sabhā P., i. 578-9.

² Sabhā P., xxv. 1000; Vana P., cclii. 15240-42.

³ Pargiter's Ed., pp. 327-330 and 357.

⁴ Sabhā P., xxv. 1000-xxvi. 1012.

⁵ Stri P., xxiii. 644.

⁶ Sabhā P., xxv. 1002; xxxiii. 1268-9; Karna P., v. 104-5.

⁷ Prāgjyotiṣaḥ Kāmarūpaḥ, IV. 22. The name Kāmarūpa seems to have been later.

⁸ Chap. 38.

⁹ IV. 81.

¹⁰ Imp. Gaz. India, xiv, p. 331.

foundation of the kingdom to Amūrtarajas, one of the four great sons of the great King Kuśa,¹ which is a significant Aryan name.

According to the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa and the Rāmāyaṇa, there seems to have been another Prāgjyotiṣapura on the river Vetravati or Betwa.²

The later kings of Kāmarūpa, who claimed to have been descended from the lineage of Narakāsura and Bhagadatta, figured prominently in Indian history. Most important of them was Kumāra Bhāṣkaravarman, an ally of Harṣavarddhana Śilāditya, and referred to by both Bāṇa in his Harṣacarita and Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim.

King Prālamba of Kāmarūpa (C. 800–825 A.D.)³ is described in the Tezpur plates of his grandson as Prāgjyotiṣeśa. His grandson Vanamāla claims to belong to the line (anvaya) of the lords of Prāgjyotiṣa, and so also does Balavarman, another king of the same dynasty (C. 975 A.D.). During the earlier half of the eleventh century A.D. the capital city of Prāgjyotiṣa seems to have attained a great eminence under the kingship of Ratnapāla. In the Bargaon grant of the king, the city is referred to as an impregnable one and rendered beautiful by the Lauhitya.⁴

The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva⁵ (C. 1100) refers to the Maṇḍala of Kāmarūpa and the Viṣaya of Prāgjyotiṣa which implies that the latter was the bigger administrative division including Kāmarūpa.

Rājyamatī, a daughter of King Harṣavarman Prāgjyotiṣa (according to the stray plate of King Harjara),⁶ is described as Bhagadattarājakulajā.⁷

2 The Pāriyātras

It is doubtful whether the Pāriyātras, or Pāripātras as they were also called,⁸ can be, ethnologically speaking, designated as a tribe or people, to be distinguished from the Vindhyas with whom they lived contiguously or from other peoples who had their habitat in and around the same locality. The Purāṇas however always

¹ Ādi K., xxxv. 1–6.

² Chap. 27, and Kiśkindhyā K., Chap. 42 respectively.

³ J.A.S.B., 1840, ix. 2, pp. 766ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1898, LXVII, pp. 115–118.

⁵ Ep. Ind., XII, pp. 37ff.

⁶ I.H.Q., Dec. 1927, p. 841, f.n. 1.

⁷ Ind. Ant., 1880, IX, p. 179; J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 384–5.

⁸ Mār. P., 58. 8.

enumerate them as a distinct people associated with the Pāripātra mountains which evidently gave their name to the people.

As already noticed, there are two variant forms of the mountainous region inhabited by this people as given in the Purāṇas : Pāriyātra and Pāripātra ; but Pāripātra seems to be the more usual form of reading, though Pāriyātra occurs not unfrequently. In the topographical list of the Purāṇas, the Pāriyātra or Pāripātra hills are mentioned as one of the seven hill ranges together forming what is called *Kulācalas* or *Kula-parvatas*, family mountains, or mountain ranges or systems. They are the Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimat, Rkṣa, Vindhya and Pāripātra.¹ The Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Mārkaṇḍeya and Padma Purāṇas and the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata also add a list of inferior mountains to these seven.² The principal seven hill ranges are similarly enumerated in all the Puranic authorities, and their situation is easily determined by the rivers which are listed to flow from them.³

Pāripātra in particular is always associated with the Vindhya which, it is well known, is the general name of the chain of hills that stretches across Central India dividing India into its well-defined and natural north and south divisions ; but it is evident from the Puranic list and the situations of the hills mentioned in it that the name Vindhya, in the Purāṇas, is restricted to the eastern division of long range of hills. According to the Vāyu Purāṇa, however, it is the part south of the river Narmadā, or the Sātpurā range of hills. Pāripātra is the northern and western portion of the Vindhya, and may be said to include the range of hills now known as the Aravalli.

The Purāṇas, for example, the Viṣṇu, mention another Pāriyātra or Pāripātra as situated on the west, associated with the semi-mythical mount Meru. 'Niṣadha and Pāriyātra are the limitative mountains on the west (of Meru), stretching, like those on the east, between the Nīla and Niṣadha ranges.'⁴ But there is hardly any reason to confound the Pāripātra of the *Kulācalas* situated in the

¹ E.g. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2, III. Wilson's edn., Bk. II, ch. III, pp. 127-28 ; also, Mārka., 57. 10 ; Mbh., vi. 9. 11.

Mahendra Malayah Sahyaḥ Śuktimān Rkṣaparvataḥ
Vindhyaśca Pāripātraśca saptaivātra Kulācaleḥ.

² Bhāg., V, 19. 16 ; Mārka., LVII, 13, etc. ; Mbh. Bhīṣma P., śl. 317-378.

³ 'As subordinate portions of them are thousands of mountains ; some unheard of, though lofty, extensive and abrupt ; and others, better known, though of lesser elevation, and inhabited by people of low stature.'

⁴ Rai Chaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, 2nd Edn.

⁵ Viṣṇu, 2, II. Wilson edn., p. 123.

centre and south of India with this Pāripātra or Pāriyātra associated with the semi-mythical Meru of the extreme north.

The list of the seven Kulācalas seems to have been known, in some form or other, to Ptolemy, as early as the first half of the second century A.D. ; he also specifies seven ranges of hills although his list does not correspond with the Puranic list, with the exception of the Ouindion, identical with the Vindhya, and the Ouxenton, identical with the Rkṣa (Vant).¹ Wilson thought that Adeisathron might be identified with the Pāriyātras² ; this has been found to be untenable, and modern research tends to connect the range more with the Western Ghāts, more properly, ' that section of the Western Ghāts which is immediately to the north of the Coimbatore gap, as it is there the Kāverī rises '.³

According to Rājasekhara, all the seven *Kulaparvatas* were comprised within the Kumārī dvīpa whose southern-most limit, according to the Skanda Purāṇa, was the Pāriyātra.⁴ In the period of the Brahmanical and Buddhist sūtras too Pāriyātra was the southern-most limit of contemporary Aryandom or Āryāvarta, while the eastern and western boundaries were formed by Kālākāvaṇa (probably near Allahabad) and Adarsana and Thūna (on the Saraswatī) respectively.⁵

The Purāṇas refer to a number of rivers issuing from the Pāriyātra : the Varṇāśā, or Parṇāśā, the Śiprā, the Carmanvatī, the Sindhu and the Vetravatī. The Mahi is well known ; Varṇāśā or Parṇāśā has been identified by Pargiter with the modern Banās, a tributary of the Carmanvatī identical with the Chambal. Sindhu is Kālī Sindhu, a tributary of the Chambal and Vetravatī is the same as modern Betwa. Śiprā is the famous river immortalized in Sanskrit classical poetry. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa mentions still another river as issuing from the Pāripātra mountains, namely the Vedaṣmṛti⁶ or Vedasṁṛta, according to the Mahābhārata.⁷

The Vāyu Purāṇa mentions the Kāruṣas and the Mālavas as dwelling along the Pāripātra mountains.⁸ The Nasik Praśasti

¹ Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle, S. N. Majumdar's edn., pp. 75-81.

² Wilson's edn. of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 2, III, p. 128.

³ Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, 80.

⁴ Skandha Purāṇa Kumārika-khaṇḍa, ch. 39, 113. ' Pāriyātrasya chaivārvāk khaṇḍam Kaumārikam smṛitam.'

⁵ Dharma-sūtra of Bodhāyana, I, 1. 25. ' Prāgadarśanāt pratyak Kālākavanād dakṣiṇena Himavantam udak'Pāriyātram etad Āryāvartam.'

⁶ 2, III, Wilson's edn., p. 130.

⁷ Bhīmaparvan, *op. cit.*

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 2, III, Wilson's edn., p. 133. Mālukas and Mārukas are variant readings for Kāruṣas. See also Kūrma P., Purva ch. 7, which seems to include the countries of Aparānta, Saurāṣṭra, Śūdra, Mālapa (Mālava), Malaka and others within the Pāriyātra area.

of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi seems to associate the Kukuras also with the Pāriyātra.¹ This is also probably the earliest epigraphic mention of the mountains. But a more elaborate mention is made in the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana,² where a large tract of land is described as 'containing many countries, which lie between the Vindhya (mountains), from the slopes of the summits of which there flows the pale mass of the waters of (the river) Revā, and the mountain Pāriyātra, on which trees are bent down in (their) frolicsome leaps by the long-tailed monkeys (and stretches) up to the ocean'.

3 The Lāṭas

The name of the Lāṭas as a people must have been known as early as the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier still, and their country Lāṭa or Lāṭaviṣaya was well known in Indian history till as late as the seventh and eighth centuries. It is however curious that neither the country nor its people are ever mentioned in any of the earlier or authoritative Purāṇas or even in the Epics.

The earliest definite mention of the country seems to have been made by Ptolemy, the celebrated Greek geographer and astronomer. According to his description of India within the Ganges, Lārike lay to the east of Indo-Skythia along the sea-coast.³ It was Lassen who first established identity of Lārike with Sanskrit Rāṣṭrika in its Prākṛt form Lāṭika which is easily equated with Lāṭa. Lāṭadeśa in its Prākṛt form Lārdeśa (the country of Lār) also seems to have been a very early name for the territory of Gujrat and northern Konkan,⁴ and McCrindle conjectured that Lārike 'might therefore be a formation from Lār with the Greek termination *ike* appended'.⁵ The name Lārdeśa probably survived the Hindu period, 'for the sea to the west of that coast was in the early Muhammadan time called the sea of Lār, and the language spoken on its shores was called by Mas'ūdi, Lāri' (Yule's Marco Polo, II, p. 353 n).⁶

In Ptolemy's Lārike lay the mouth of the river Mōphis which is identical with the Mahī, a village named Pakidare which is difficult to be identified, and the cape Maleo which 'must have been a projection of the land somewhere between the mouth of the Mahī and that of the Narmadā, but nearer to the former if Ptolemy's indication be correct'.⁷

¹ See also Br. Samhitā, XIV, 4.

² C.I.I., Vol. III, p. 154.

³ Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle, Majumdar's ed., pp. 38, 152-53.

⁴ Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 302 n.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

The two great cities of Barygaza and Ozene were also within the political division of Lārike. In Ptolemy's Gulf of Barygaza lay Kamane, doubtless identical with Kamonone of the Periplus which places it to the south of the Narmadā estuary while Ptolemy locates it to the north; north of the river Namados identical with the river Narmadā; Nausaripa which is the same as modern Nausāri on the coast and Sanskrit Navasārikā, and finally Poulipoula which in Yule's map is located at modern Sanjam on the coast south from Nausāri. Barygaza itself is the same as Sanskrit Bhrguksetra or Bhrgukaccha, Pāli Bharukaccha, modern Broach; the same form of the name is repeatedly found also in the Periplus.

Lāta is mentioned twice in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra; in one passage characteristics of ladies of the Lāta country are described while in another those of men.¹ He does not however give any clue as to the location of the country.

The Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavamsa and the Mahāvamsa, refer to the country of Lāla in connection with the first Aryan immigration to Ceylon led by Prince Vijaya. Lāla has been sought to be identified with both Lāta or Lāda in Gujrat and Rāḍha in Bengal and both countries seem to claim the honour of the first Aryanization of the island. Prince Vijaya is described in the chronicles to have been the great-grandson of a princess of Vaṅga, and hence one school of scholars mainly depending on historical evidence proposes to equate Lāla with Rāḍha, while the other school mainly resting their argument on philosophical grounds finds Lāla to be philologically more closely akin to Lāta or Lāḍa. It is not impossible that the tradition of two different streams of immigration, as Dr. Barnett thinks, came to be knit together in the story of Vijaya.

The Lāta country in the days of the early Imperial Guptas came to be constituted into an administrative province as Lāta-*viṣaya* along with Tripuri-*viṣaya*, Arikīṇa-*viṣaya*, Antarvedī-*viṣaya*, Vālavi-*viṣaya*, Gayā-*viṣaya*, etc. These *viṣayas* or *pradeśas* seem to have been subordinate to the administrative division of *bhukti*.

It is likely that the Lāta country was the same as the Lāteśvara country mentioned in one or two early Gurjara and Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. In the Baroda copperplate inscription, the capital of the kingdom of Lāteśvara is said to have been at Elapur (verse 11). The inscription also gives the genealogy of the kings of Lāteśvara. That the Lāta country was distinguished from Saurāṣṭra is proved by a grant dated 812 A.D. when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karkarāja of Lāteśvara recorded a grant of land (C. 800-825 A.D.).

MISCELLANEA

A NOTE ON THE LINEAGE OF PUSHYAMITRA

Eminent scholars, Indian as well as Western, have held the view that the 'most systematic record of Indian historical tradition is that preserved in the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas'. Not only have Purāṇic lists of kings been regarded by several writers as the indispensable foundation of a chronological narrative, but the nomenclature of dynasties as given in the Purāṇas has been accepted without question as furnishing the only reliable clue to the origin and extraction of these families. Few indeed are the students of Indian history who have subjected the Purāṇic lists to a critical examination—an examination which has at times revealed the fact that the so-called dynastic lists are not unoften a loose jumble of names of individuals some of whom never ruled and some belonged to collateral lines of the same family or to distinct families that ruled contemporaneously, and not one after another in regular succession. The order of succession has in some cases been inverted. The names given to some of the reigning families by the Purāṇic chroniclers are unknown to contemporary epigraphy or to tradition recorded in works that may claim a higher antiquity than the extant Purāṇic texts. The following pages are however not concerned with a critical examination of the lists of kings given in the *Bhaviṣya-nukīrtana*, or with the general question of the Purāṇic nomenclature of certain dynasties. The scope of the present paper is much more limited. Its object is to discuss the problem presented by the family to which belonged the kings Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and their descendants—a question that has already been dealt with by former scholars with results that may hardly be regarded as conclusive.

It is well known that according to the Purāṇas Maurya rule was followed by that of the Śuṅgas, and the list of ten Śuṅgas given in these texts is headed by Senānī Pushyamitra who is represented as having uprooted Brīhadratha (Maurya) and ruled for 36 years :—

*Iti-ete nava-Mauryās-tu ye bhokshyanti vasundharām
sapta-triṃśach-chhatam pūrnam tebhyah Śuṅgo bhaviṣyati
Pushyamitras-tu senānīr-uddhṛitya sa Brīhadratham
kārayiṣyati vai rājyam śat-triṃśati samā nṛipaḥ.¹*

¹ *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-31.

The *Divyāvadāna* however records a different tradition. According to that work ¹ Saṃpadī, son of Kunāla and grandson of Aśoka Maurya, had a son named Vrihaspati. The son of Vrihaspati was Vrihasena, and the son of Vrihasena was Pushyadharman. The latter was the father of Pushyamitra who is thus described as of Maurya origin.² Yet another tradition is recorded by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram*—a fact already noted by Mr. H. A. Shah in the *Proceedings of the Third Oriental Conference* (p. 379). That text represents Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra, as a scion of the *Baimbika Kula* :—

*Dākṣiṇyam nāma bimb-oshṭhi Baimbikānām kulavratam
tan-me dīrgh-ākshi ye prāṇās-te tvad-āśā-nibandhanāḥ.*³

‘Politeness indeed, O Bimba-lipped one, is the family tradition of the descendants of Bimbaka ; nevertheless such life as I possess, O large-eyed one, is entirely dependent, upon the hope of thy favour.’⁴

Mr. Shah is inclined to connect Baimbika with Bimbisāra. But the conjecture lacks plausibility.

The Śuṅga theory has hitherto held the field. It is undeniable that a Śuṅga dynasty ruled in Central India shortly after the Mauryas. This is made clear by the famous epigraph at Bharhut referring to the sovereignty of the Śuṅgas. But the question is—are we justified in assigning Pushyamitra, Agnimitra and their descendants to the Śuṅga line in the face of the divergent traditions recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* ? In this connection it is interesting to recall an episode in the *Harivamśa*⁵ to which reference has already been made by some previous writers :—

*Audbhijjo bhavitā kaśchit Senānīḥ Kāśyapo dvijaḥ
Aśvamedham Kaliyuge punaḥ pratyāharishyati.*

We are told that the horse-sacrifice was in abeyance for a long time since the days of Janamejaya and that it was revived in the *Kali* age by a Senānī who is described as a *dvija* belonging to the *Kāśyapa* clan. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal identifies this twice-born Senānī with Senānī Pushyamitra of the *Purāṇas* who is known

¹ Pages 430, 433, Ed. Cowell and Neil.

² Kunālasya Saṃpadī-nāma putro . . . Saṃpader-Vrihaspatiḥ putro Vrihaspater-Vrihaseno Vrihasenasya Pushyadarmā Pushyadharmanāḥ Pushyamitraḥ.

³ Act IV, verse 14.

⁴ Tawney's translation (with slight emendation), p. 69, *footnote* :—‘Kulavrata, a family custom handed down from generation to generation, such as the celebration of a festival in honour of any deity on a particular day annually. Bimbaka was the name of one of the forefathers of Agnimitra. (S.P.P.)’

⁵ *Bhaviṣya-parva*, Ch. II, Verse 40.

from other sources to have been a Brāhmaṇa and to have performed two horse-sacrifices. But the proposed identification can hardly stand if Pushyamitra was really a Śuṅga as the Purāṇas represent him to be. The Śuṅgas, as is well known, belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gotra*. To obviate the difficulty a recent writer has suggested that 'Kāśyapa is evidently a mistake for Śuṅga'.¹ But the conjecture lacks proof. Is there any evidence that Pushyamitra was in reality a Kāśyapa? Now, we have already seen that Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitram* represents the line of Agnimitra as *Baimbikānām kula* . . . Curiously enough the *Baudhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra* in the section dealing with the *pravaras* and *gotras* distinctly includes the *Baimbakayaḥ* among *Kāśyapas*.² If that is so, then Pushyamitra might well claim to have been a Kāśyapa and his identification with the restorer of the horse-sacrifice alluded to in the *Harivamśa* may be justified. But in that case we shall have to reject the Purāṇic view that he was a Śuṅga, that is to say, a Bhāradvāja, unless future discoveries show us some way of reconciling the divergent data of the Purāṇas on the one hand and the *Mālavikāgnimitram* and the *Harivamśa* on the other.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRÆVALEBIT

In the *April* number of the *Journal of Indian History*, 1936, pp. 10-20, appears an article entitled *Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and his times*, to which the editor, apparently Dr. S. Krishnasvami Aiyangar, or one of his colleagues, adds a prefatory note. The writer of the article in question seeks 'to add yet another evidence' to show 'that Dr. H. C. Roy Choudhury was unfortunately wrong in imagining Yājñavalkya and his friend Janaka six generations or about 180 years later than the Pārikṣitas'. We need not enter into a discussion as to the cogency of the arguments of the writer, arguments that have apparently satisfied the learned editor, but leave us, and perhaps many others, absolutely unconvinced. But we cannot but refer to an unwarranted assertion which appears on p. 20 of the *Journal*. After comparing certain passages occurring in Weber's

¹ *I.H.Q.*, 1929, p. 405.

² Vol. III, p. 449. '*Kāśyapān vyākhyāsyāmaḥ—Kāśyapās-Chāgayayo Maṭharā Aitiśāyanā Abhūtyā Vaiśiprā Dhūmrā Dhumrāyanā Dhaumyā Dhārmyāyanā Audavrajirāgrāyanā Baimbakayaḥ*.' The names mentioned in this text have variants.

History of Indian Literature with certain words and expressions that find place in Dr. Ray Chaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India* (First Edition, p. 16) the writer of the article in the *Journal of Indian History* seems to insinuate that the author of the *Political History* has 'attempted to give Weber's thought and language (as rendered) out as his own without any reference to Weber'. It is not a little curious that the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* refers to the *first* edition of the *Political History* notwithstanding the fact that the book reached a third edition as far back as 1932. But a perusal of even the *first* edition is enough to show the unfairness of the writer and his disregard for truth. In the *Bibliographical Index* appended to the first edition of the *Political History*, p. 319, occurs the following reference :—

Indian Literature, Weber. . . . 16, 27, 30, 31, 56.

It will be remembered that the words and expressions referred to by the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* occur on p. 16, of the *Political History* for which the authority of Weber has thus been cited in the *Bibliographical Index*, p. 319. Moreover, on p. 27 of the *Political History*, First Edition, we have the following reference :—

' See p. 16, *ante*, Weber, Ind. Lit., p. 126.'

Fair-minded critics will now be in a position to determine whether the writer in the *Journal of Indian History* (p. 20) has any regard for truth or fair-play.

G. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

IS THE DHAMMA 'ATAKKĀVACARA' NOT WITHIN THE REALM OF LOGICAL THOUGHT?

We note that in referring to the Dhamma the Buddha realized (*Adhigato*). He frequently uses the term *Atakkāvacara*.

The Dhamma mentioned in this connection, as we understand, is the *Nava-Lokuttara Dhamma*—i.e. the four Paths (*maggā*), the four Fruits (*phala*), and *Nibbāna*. These supramundane states have to be realized by one's own intuitive knowledge.

The four Paths and four Fruits belong to consciousness, and *Nibbāna* is a *Vatthu Dhamma*—an object of thought.

These nine states are not within the realm of logical thought, as they are intuitive truths which are beyond logical reasoning.

The Doctrinal teaching (*Pariyatti Dhamma*) of the Buddha is within the realm of logical thought, for there is no saying of the Buddha that does not harmonize with scientific reasoning.

The *Pariyatti Dhamma* leads to the *Paṭivedha Dhamma* which comprises the above nine states.

Dr. George Grimm in his article on 'Atakkāvaçara' refers to 'concentration combined with energetic logical thought and reflection' (*savitakko savicāro samādhi*) as the 'Road to the Absolute' (*Asaṅkhata*).

If we take *savitakko savicāro* as such, I wonder what we should say to *avitaṅko avicāro samādhi*.

Immediately after the passage Dr. Grimm quotes from the *Samyutta Nikāya* the Buddha says—What is the Road to the Absolute? It is *avitaṅko vicāramatto samādhi*, i.e. concentration without *vitakka* but only with *vicāra*.

Furthermore the Buddha says—it is *avitaṅko avicāro samādhi*—concentration without *vitakka* and *vicāra*.

Following Dr. Grimm's translation it should be 'without or not combined with logical thought and reflection'.

Although *vitakka* and *vicāra* sometimes mean logical reasoning and reflection, here these two terms are used in a different sense. The Compendium of Philosophy gives 'initial application and sustained application' which are more correct and more appropriate.

Vitakka and *vicāra* are two constituent factors of *Jhāna*, just as *pīti* (joy), *sukha* (happiness) and *okaggata* (one-pointedness). These five factors constitute *Jhāna*. In the second *Jhāna* according to the *Abhidhammattha Sangaha* there is no *vitakka* but there is *vicāra*. In the third *Jhāna*, however, one transcends both *vitakka* and *vicāra*—hence the reference to *avitaṅka* and *avicāra*.

NĀRADA.

VIMUTTIMAGGA AND PEṬAKOPADESA

In my article, 'Vimuttimaggā and Visuddhimaggā', printed in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 455–59, I referred (p. 459) to the fact that the *Peṭakopadesa* of *Mahākaccāyana* of *Jambūvana* does contain several passages found in the *Vimuttimaggā* but not discovered in the *Visuddhimaggā* of *Buddhaghosa*.

Peṭakopadesa,¹ it appears, was intended to be edited by Mr. Hardy. The MS. copy of the book by Mr. Hardy is preserved in the State Library of Berlin and the present writer, at the time of his visit to the State Library, Berlin, in 1932, was fortunate to see it there and to secure, through the kindness of the authorities concerned, a photographic copy of all the 293 pages of the MSS. The text of the copy is very faulty and corrupt, full of errors and knotty points, especially in the VIIth Chapter. Without other manuscripts to check up the faulty readings, this manuscript cannot be relied upon. Fortunately, I came across later on an edition of the same text printed in Burmese characters in the Zabu Meit Swe Press, Rangoon, 1917. This text is printed along with Netti of the same author, Mahākaccāyana, in one and the same volume. The text of the Peṭakopadesa is not much known and still less studied. When I started to read Hardy's MSS. along with this printed edition, I was much astonished to find in it several passages from the Vimuttimaggā of Upatissa—the Vimuttimaggā as we have it in its Chinese version by Seng-Chie-po-lo—the passages about the source of which I was much at a loss to know. I propose to indicate here the passages found in both the texts.

(1) In the very Introductory chapter of the Vimuttimaggā, Upatissa gives his reasons as to why he should tell the people the Path of Deliverance. There are, he says, some people who profit by listening to others and he gives a quotation (see M., i, 294) in which the Blessed One declares that there are two ways in which one can have the right view (*saṃmādiṭṭhi*)—either by learning it from others or by self-reflection. This corresponds to 'Dve hetū dve paccayā sāvakassa saṃmādiṭṭhiyā uppādāya, parato ca ghoso saccānusandhi, ajjhatañ ca yoniso manasikāro' found at the very beginning of the Peṭakopadesa.

(2) In the third chapter of the Visuddhimaggā, Buddhaghosa refers to the view of the fourteen cariyās which he is not prepared to accept. Upatissa does refer to these fourteen and names them one after another. Among these there are two types which are called by the name of 'samabhāgacariyā'. Now exactly this very type is found in the VIIth Chapter, pp. 157, 162 (pp. 190, 192 of the printed edition).

(3) In the Twelfth book of the Vimuttimaggā, in the twelfth chapter (*Saccapariccheda*), part two, we have only *three* lokuttara-indriyas given as playing an important part in the progress of the Yogāvacara towards the ideal of Arhatship. These same three

¹ Already edited by Dr. A. Barua and will be published by Dr. B. C. Law in his Series—Editor.

indriyas, aññātāññassāmītindriyaṃ, aññindriyaṃ, and aññātāvindriyaṃ are also found in the second and the third chapters of the Peṭakopadesa, pp. 56, 71-72 (pp. 146, 152 of the printed edition).

(4) So also in the same chapter we come across three kinds of searches, 'tisso esaṇā' or 'pariyesaṇā'. The same three we meet with in the eighth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa, p. 284 (p. 251 of the printed edition). Also see Vibhanga, p. 366.

(5) In the first part of the same chapter we have a threefold classification of things; khandha-sangaha, āyatana-sangaha, dhātu-sangaha. Exactly the same classification we meet with in the sixth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa, p. 124 (p. 176 of the printed edition). The same classification is also found in the Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharma-kośavyākhyā, i, p. 37, Cm. on stanza 14: 'Bhagavato Vineyavaśāt-tisro deśanāḥ skandhāyatanadhātudeśanāḥ.'

(6) In Book four, Chapter eight, part one, of the Vimuttimaggā, Upatissa mentions three kinds of middha, āhāraja, utuja and cittaja, of which only the last he considers as nīvaraṇa, while the other two are possible even in an Arhat. Upatissa speaks of it in the twelfth chapter also. There he says that among things given up by one at the time of the Arhatship, there are thīna and uddhacca and not thīna-middha and Uddhacca as is asserted by Buddhaghosa in the XXII Chapter of the Visuddhimaggā. This view of Upatissa is supported in the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, p. 180 (p. 201 of the printed edition), where it is said 'Atthi pana Arahato kāyakilesa-middhañ ca okkamati, na ca taṃ nīvaraṇaṃ; tassa thīnamiddhaṃ nīvaraṇaṃ ti na ekaṃsena'. This view is also supported by the author of the Milindapañha (see p. 253 of Trenckner's edition) who mentions middha among ten things over which an Arahāt has no control.

(7) Upatissa quotes from what he calls Sān Tsān three passages of which I have been so far able to identify two passages only in the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, pp. 157, 158 (p. 191 of the printed edition). One of these passages corresponds to 'Tattha alobhassa pāripūriyā vivitto hoti kāmehi, tattha adosassa pāripūriyā amohassa pāripūriyā ca vivitto hoti pāpakehi akusalehi dhammehi'.

(8) The other passage contains a simile which illustrates the distinction between vitakka and vicāra. The simile in the Vimuttimaggā corresponds to the following passage from the Peṭakopadesa 'Tattha paṭhamābhiniṇipāto vitakko, paṭiladdhassa vicāraṇaṃ vicāro. Yathā puriso dūrato purisaṃ passati āgacchantam na ca tāva jānāti itthi ti vā puriso ti vā. Yadā tu paṭilabhati itthi ti vā puriso ti vā evaṃ-vanno ti vā—evaṃ vicāro vitakke appeti.'

(9) There are other similes also from the Vimuttimaggā which can be traced to the Peṭakopadesa, VIIth Chapter, p. 158 (p. 191

of the printed edition). Here is one. 'Yathā baliko humhiko' sajjhāyaṃ karoti evaṃ vitakko, yathā taṃ yeva anupassati evaṃ vicāro. . . . Niruttipatisambhidāyaṃ ca paṭibhānapatisambhidāyaṃ ca vitakko, dhammapatisambhidāyaṃ ca atthapatisambhidāyaṃ ca vicāro.'

(10) While describing the simultaneous nature of the penetration into Truths (saccapariccheda) Upatissa gives three similes, that of a boat crossing the floods, that of a lamp that is burning and that of the sun that is shining. Peṭakopadesa gives almost identical similes (p. 150 ; 187 of the printed edition). Buddhaghosa refers one of these similes to Porāṇas and although he does not mention that name with regard to others, it is very clear that the other similes also he borrows from the same source.

'(11) There is one another important simile which I have been able to trace to the Peṭakopadesa, p. 190 (p. 206 of the printed edition). Upatissa gives a quotation from one Nārada which purports to say 'Just as in a mountain-forest there may be a well but no rope with which water could be taken out. If at that time there comes a man overcome by the heat of the sun and fatigued by thirst, who sees the well and knows that there is water in it, but still cannot actually reach it, then merely by his knowledge about the existence of water in the well and merely by seeing it, he cannot satisfy his thirst ; so in the same way, if I know nirodha as nibbāna and even if I have a perfect yathābhūtañāṇadassana, I do not thereby become a khīṇāsava arahā.' The passage in the Peṭakopadesa says 'Yathā gambhīre udapāṇe udakaṃ cakkhunā passati, na ca kāyena abhisambhūṇāti, evamassa ariyā nijjhānakhantiyā diṭṭhi bhavati na ca sacchikatā'.

(12) Besides the passages given above there are some minor passages where we find some of the jhānas explained as having particular angas. For instance, the third trance is explained as having five angas in the Vimuttimaggā. These same angas are mentioned in the Peṭakopadesa, p. 155 (p. 190 of the printed edition). 'Tathā pañcanga-samannāgataṃ tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ—satiyā, sam-pajaññaṇa, sukhena, cittekaggatāya, upekkhāya'.

Do the instances given above justify us in concluding that the Author of the Vimuttimaggā had the advantage of consulting the Peṭakopadesa ?

• P. V. BĀPAṬ.

¹ The printed edition reads ' tuṇhiko '.

JANAMEJAYA AND JANAKA

The remarks of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the learned editor of the *Journal of Indian History*, that a certain Dr. Pradhan's 'investigation proves successfully that the particular Janaka and Yājñavalkya belong to the period of Janamejaya Pāriksita and may now be accepted as providing a starting point in Vedic chronology' (*J.I.H.*, April, 1936, p. 10) drew my attention to a paper entitled 'Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and his Times' by Dr. S. N. Pradhan, M.Sc., Ph.D., published in three instalments in the Aug., 1933, Dec., 1933, and April, 1936, issues of *J.I.H.* Since it is now known to all students of *Ait. Br.*, *Sat. Br.* and *Kāth. Sam.* that Tura Kāvaseya, who performed Janamejaya's *aindra-mahābhīṣeka*, was sixth¹ in the ascending series of teachers from Yājñavalkya who debated at Janaka's court, the contemporaneity of Janamejaya and Janaka is an apparent improbability. I therefore turned to Dr. Pradhan's paper to see what arguments he has adduced to render it possible. On a careful perusal of his paper however I am sorry to note that not only are Dr. Pradhan's arguments for the synchronism of Janamejaya with Janaka absolutely unconvincing, but also that he has utterly failed to judge in a scholar's spirit the arguments of the author of the *Political History of Ancient India*, showing that according to Vedic literature Janamejaya is to be placed several generations before Janaka. All through his paper, Dr. Pradhan breathes an air of superiority which is evidently the result of what may be called 'Inferiority Complex' in Psychology and is surely a deplorable mentality.

Dr. Pradhan claims to have adduced no less than twenty-three 'Vedic, Epic, Purāṇic and grammatical' evidences in the first and second instalments of his paper and to add a new 'Vedic evidence' in the third instalment (see *J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, pp. 344-46; April, 1936, pp. 10ff.). We are sorry to note that as many as twenty of the twenty-four 'evidences' are based on traditions recorded in the *Mahābh.* and the *Purāṇas* and on the guesses of grammarians and later commentators who evidently relied on the doubtful authority of the *Epics* and the *Purāṇas*. As early as the year 1923, the author of *P.H.A.I.* (1st ed., pp. 16-7) remarked, 'It

¹ Tura Kāvaseya; his pupil Yājñavacas Rājastambāyana; his pupil Kuśri Vājasravasa; his pupil Upaveśi; his son and pupil Aruṇa; his son and pupil Uddālaka; his pupil Yājñavalkya. We should also notice in this connection another series of teachers beginning with Indrota, the priest of Janamejaya; his son and pupil Dṛti; his pupil Puluṣa; his son and pupil Satyayajña; his son and pupil Somaśuśma, a contemporary of Yājñavalkya.

is not possible to determine with precision the exact chronological relation between Janamejaya and Janaka. Epic and Purāṇic tradition seems to regard them as contemporaries. The unreliability of the Epic and Purāṇic tradition in this respect is proved by the Vedic texts. Dr. Pradhan therefore need not have laboured so hard to tax the patience of the learned readers of *J.I.H.* with the twenty 'evidences', described by him as 'Epic, Purāṇic and grammatical'. The Purāṇas, as we all know, describe collateral successions as lineal, very often reverse the orders of succession and misplace synchronisms. The *Mahābhārata* goes so far as to "represent (II, ch. 31; III, ch. 147-51) Hanumat and Vibhīṣaṇa as having met Bhīmasena and Sahadeva respectively". The author of *P.H.A.I.* was therefore perfectly reasonable when he accepted the evidence furnished by the Vedic literature as regards the chronological position of Janamejaya and Janaka in preference to Epic and Purāṇic traditions. We should now try to examine the 'Vedic evidences' adduced by Dr. Pradhan, which are only four in number, and see whether he has been able to prove the synchronism of Janamejaya with Janaka from traditions recorded in the Vedic literature.

According to Dr. Pradhan, Janamejaya Pārikṣita was a contemporary of Vājasaneyā Yājñavalkya and therefore also of Janaka Vaideha, because—

(1) Pāṇini's rule, *Praśne c = āsanna-kāle* (3, 2, 117), applied to Bhujyu's question, '*Kva pārikṣitā abhavan?*' in the debate at Janaka's court, establishes it;

(2) according to *Śat. Br.* (3, 8, 2, 24), Yājñavalkya was cursed by Caraka (= Vaiśampāyana according to Kāśikā) who was the court-historian of Janamejaya;

(3) according to *Jaim. Br.* (2, 55-6), Hr̥tsvaśaya Āllakeya was a pupil of Somaśuśma Sātyayajñi as well as of Dantāla Dhaumya; according to *Śat. Br.* (11, 6, 2, 1), Somaśuśma was a contemporary of Yājñavalkya, while according to *Gopath. Br.* (1, 2, 5), Dantāvala Dhaumra (= Dantāla Dhaumya of *Jaim. Br.*) was a contemporary of Janamejaya;

(4) according to *Chānd. Up.* (5, 11, 1-2) and *Jaim. Br.* (1, 271-3) Indradyumna Bhāllaveya was a disciple of Uddālaka Āruṇi whose other disciple Yājñavalkya was according to *Kānv. Śat. Br.* (17, 6, 3, 7); now, according to *Mādhy. Śat. Br.* (13, 5, 3, 4-6), some views of Bhāllaveya (= Indradyumna Bhāllaveya of *Chānd. Up.* and *Jaim. Br.*) regarding the manner of offering the omenta of the *cāturmasya* victims were rejected by Indrota Śaunaka who was the priest of Janamejaya, while Indrota's own views were rejected by Yājñavalkya, contemporary of Janaka.

A careful consideration, however, shows that none of the above four 'Vedic evidences' carries any weight at all.

(1) Pāṇini's rule cannot be applied to Bhujyu's question, as it was not framed for the first time in Janaka's court. Bhujyu heard about the question, '*Kva pārīkṣitā abhavan?*', and its solution in the Madra country. It was therefore something like a stock question. It is moreover known to all students of the Vedic literature that the language of the Śruti does not follow invariably the school of Pāṇini's grammar. This 'evidence' therefore proves nothing in the way of Janaka's synchronism with the Pārīkṣitas.

(2) This cannot be called a 'Vedic evidence' to prove Janaka's contemporaneity with Janamejaya. Vedic literature does never state that Caraka is to be identified only with Vaiśampāyana who was, moreover, a contemporary of Janamejaya only according to Epic and Purāṇic traditions.

(3) This 'evidence' is simply based on the untenable identification of Dantāla Dhaumya of *Jaim. Br.* with Dantāvala Dhaumra of *Gopath. Br.* In support of the equation *Dantābala* (or *Dantāvala*) = *Dantāla*, Dr. Pradhan has adduced such ludicrous illustrations of the elision of *v* (*J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, p. 333) as *suvarṇa* = *svarṇa*, *suvarṅa* = *svarga* (in which the letter *v* is not elided) and *Jaunpur* (which he thinks to be the same as *Yavanapura*, though students of Muslim history know it to have been founded in the name of Jauna Khān, i.e. Muhammad bin Tūghlaq). Dr. Pradhan further says (*ibid.*, p. 335), 'Now as regards the second component "Dhaumra", it is known to students of Vedic, Epic and Puranic literature in the original that "Dhaumya" was the famous Brāhmaṇic gotra title and not "Dhaumra". Here is also an influence of Prakritism in this change from "Dhaumya" to "Dhaumra" for the semi-vowel "y" is noticed to change into "r".' We are sorry to note that such a boasting 'student of Vedic, Epic and Puran(!)ic literature in the original' as Dr. Pradhan, has not carefully studied *Baudh. Śr. Sūt.* (Vol. III, p. 449) in which both *Dhaumya* and *Dhumra* (from which the form *Dhaumra* is derived) are separately mentioned as different gotra titles. The authority of Baudhāyana, we now hope, would put a stop to these wonderful philological speculations to prove '*Dhaumra*' to be a corrupt form of '*Dhaumya*'. Another original identification proposed by Dr. Pradhan may be noticed in this connection. He says (*J.I.H.*, April, 1936, p. 12), 'Now by the name "Mahāśāla Jābāla Aupamanyava" the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa evidently means the same person as "Prācīnaśāla Jābāla", because the words "Mahāśāla" and "Prācīnaśāla" have practically the same meaning (!) and are similar-sounding (!).' We fear, the learned Doctor would

some day argue for the identifications of *Laṅkā* with *Lancashire* and *Yavana* with the *Japanese*.

(4) This 'evidence' is also based on a similar ingenious identification of 'Bhāllaveya of *Mādhya. Śat. Br.* with Indradyumna Bhāllaveya of *Chand. Up.* and *Jaim. Br.*, for which there is absolutely no proof. The 'student of Vedic literature in the original' here coolly cites the authority of Eggeling (p. 151) without quoting the actual passage. *Bhāllaveya* (cf. *Vārshneya*, *Bhārgava*, etc.) is a patronymic derived from some ancestor, and every Bhāllaveya mentioned in the Vedic literature cannot be identified with a particular Bhāllaveya called Indradyumna.

Scholars will now see if Dr. Pradhan has been able, by these 'evidences', to disprove the natural conclusion from *Ait. Br.* and other texts that Tura Kāvaṣeya performed the *aindra-mahābhiṣeka* of Janamejaya; and Yājñavalkya, who was sixth in the descending series from Tura, debated at the court of Janaka. Rhys Davids in his *Buddhist Suttas* (intro., p. xlvii) assigns a period of about 150 years to the five *theras* Upāli to Mahinda. There must have been a similar period of difference between Tura and Indrota, contemporaries of Janamejaya, on the one hand, and Yājñavalkya and Somaśuśma, contemporaries of Janaka, on the other. Regarding such speculations of Dr. Pradhan as the following: 'a teacher was not always older than his pupil', 'a generation was not always the separation between the teacher and the pupil', 'Vedic teachers in those days generally had long lives', etc., to bridge the gulf of time between Tura Kāvaṣeya (therefore, Janamejaya) and the sixth teacher in the descending series, namely, Yājñavalkya (therefore, Janaka) so as to make the two parties contemporaneous, the less said the better. Dr. Pradhan argues (*J.I.H.*, Dec., 1933, p. 347), 'Thus Vyāsa Pārāśarya is known to have attended the court of Janamejaya, the fifth in descent from Vyāsa'. We are glad that the more brilliant example in the Epic stories proving the contemporaneity of Paraśurāma with Rāma Dāśarathī as well as of Bhishma and Karna has escaped the notice of the learned Doctor.

That Janamejaya died sometime before the age of Yājñavalkya and Janaka is also proved by the evidence furnished by *Chānd. Up.*, *Pañc. Br.* and *Jaim. Br.* which mention a powerful Kuru king named Abhipratārin who was a contemporary of Dṛti, son of Indrota who was Janamejaya's priest (*P.H.A.I.*, 1st ed., p. 14). The son's contemporary Abhipratārin seems to have flourished some time later than the father's contemporary Janamejaya. This conclusion is supported by the suggestion of the *Pañc. Br.* (2, 9, 4; Caland's ed., p. 27) that the sons of Abhipratārin represented the strongest branch of the Kuru family as they were the 'mightiest of all their relations'.

Evidently, the great and powerful emperor Janamejaya was no more at the time of the Ābhīpratārinas. Ḍṛti, the contemporary of Abhīpratārin, taught Puluṣa; Puluṣa's son and pupil Śatyayajña and the latter's son and pupil Somaśuśma were older and younger contemporaries of Janaka. Evidently therefore some years must have passed between the age of Janamejaya and that of Janaka.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE PĀRIJĀTA AND BHĀNUDATTA, AUTHOR OF THE RASAMAÑJARĪ

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Introduction*¹ to the *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in Mithilā* makes the following remarks about Bhānudatta, a writer on *alaṃkāra* :

'The Rasamañjarī (a very popular book by Bhānudatta, a Maithilā (देशीय विदेहभूः, p. 52) has several MSS. (38 to 38P). It is the composition of a Vedāntist, for the instruction [it is reported] of his own son. The author flourished in the fourteenth century. The oldest MS. is dated Ś. 1689. His *Rasatarāṅgini* (Nos. 36 to 36G) is also a well-known treatise on sentiments. He is one of the last writers of the Hindu State of Mithila. This has as many as five commentaries.'

According to Dr. S. K. De,² the date of Bhānudatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* is 'earlier than the 14th century and later than the 12th century A.D.'³

According to Mr. P. V. Kane⁴ Bhānudatta's father Gaṇeśvara is very likely Gaṇeśvaramantrin, brother of Vireśvara, whose son Caṇḍeśvara composed the *Vivādaratnākara* and weighed himself in

¹ MSS. in Mithilā, Vol. II, Pub. by Behar and Orissa Res. Society, Patna, 1933, p. 5.

² Sanskrit Poetics, Vol. I, p. 249.

³ Vide *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. XVII, p. 297—Bhānudatta and Bhānukara by Dr. De. In this note Dr. De refers to his article read before *Fourth Ori. Conference* published in *Summaries of Papers* (Allahabad 1926, pp. 40-43) and states that in this article he 'has attempted a closer approximation of Bhānudatta's date to the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century'.

⁴ *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Intro., p. cxviii.

gold in 1315 A.D. Therefore, Bhānudatta flourished *towards the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century.*

According to Dr. Hara Datta Sharma¹ the poets Bhānukara and Bhānudatta are identical and as Bhānukara's patron was King Virabhānu² of the Baghela dynasty, who flourished between A.D. 1500 and 1550, Bhānudatta 'should be placed in the beginning of the 16th century A.D.'

The foregoing views of four different scholars on the problem of Bhānudatta's date tempt me to record some more data having some bearing on this problem, and which none of these scholars has examined so far. If an attempt has been made to prove the identity of भानुकर³ and भानुदत्त, names not quite identical, there is every reason to examine the namesakes of भानुदत्त and their works. One such namesake is भानुदत्त the author of a work on *dharmaśāstra* called the *Pārijāta*, a MS. of which has been described by Mr. Jayaswal.⁴ It is in Maithilī characters. The work consists of prose and verse. Mr. Jayaswal describes it as 'a manual of *dharmaśāstra*, dealing with *Tithivichāra* by Bhānudatta'. The following two verses at the beginning of the work give us some information about the author Bhānudatta and his parentage :—

¹ Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 243-258—*The Poet Bhānukara*.

² Vide my article on the *Identification of Virabhānu* (Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II, pp. 254-258).

³ Vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 247-48—Dr. Sharma records numerous verses from the works of भानुदत्त viz. the *Rasamañjari*, *Rasatarāṅgiṇī* and *Gītagaurīpati*; all of which are ascribed to Bhānukara in various anthologies. I think this list instead of proving the identity of भानुकर and भानुदत्त only explains the indiscriminate manner in which the names of the two authors were confused. भानुदत्त was the son of गणपति or गणेश्वर but the name of भानुकर's father has nowhere been traced. Once the name भानुदत्त was confused with भानुकर even the parentage of the one was thrust on the other, as is proved by the following verse found in an anthology of Venīdatta (1644 A.D.) called पद्यवेणु (MS. No. 375 of 1884-87).

Folio 676—

‘यशोधन-निधेर्यदा नरहरैर्वचोर्वण्य(र्ण)ते

तदागतमदामदालसमलालारणाः ।

निश्चिधमचरीकरी भवति चाधरीमाधुरी

सुधाकरसुधा सुधा मधुकथा दृष्टा जायते ॥ ५ ॥ गणपतिपुत्रभानुकरस्य’

⁴ MSS. in *Mithilā*, Vol. I (Patna, 1927), pp. 278-79.

‘यथा गणपतिः काव्यज्ञात्वं भानुकवेस्तथा ।
 अनयोः संगमप्लाघ्यः शर्कराक्षीरयोरिव ॥ २ ॥
 वसुधा विबुधास्तर्कतिग्मांश्चकरतापिताः ।
 कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम् ॥ ३ ॥’

In verse 2 quoted above the reading ‘गणपतिः’ in line 1 makes no meaning. The correct reading ought to be ‘गणपतेः’ because भानुकवि or भानुदत्त is here instituting a comparison between his own काव्य and that of ‘गणपति’ and hence to balance the expression ‘काव्यं भानुकवेस्तथा’ we must have the corresponding expression ‘यथा गणपतेः काव्यं’. The expression ‘अनयोः संगमः’ in the second line of the verse appears to indicate that भानुकवि is comparing his own काव्य with the काव्य of गणपति who is in all probability his father.

If the above interpretation is accepted we are in a position to state that गणपति was भानुदत्त’s father.

Let us now turn to भानुदत्त the author of works on *alamkāra* viz. the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Rasatarāṅginī*, the problem of whose date has engaged the attention of so many scholars, Mr. Jayaswal, Mr. Kane, Dr. De and Dr. Sharma, referred to above.

In the work called *Rasamañjarī* भानुदत्त gives some information about himself in the following verse¹ :—

‘तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः² कविकुलालंकारचूडामणिः
 देशो यस्य विदेहभूः सुरसरित्कल्लोलकीर्तिरिता ।
 पद्येन खल्लतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
 वाग्देवीश्रुतिपारिजातकुसुमस्यर्द्धाकरौ मञ्जरी ॥’

The particulars regarding Bhānūdatta, the author of the *Rasamañjarī* and those of Bhānūdatta the author of the *Pārijāta* may now be compared as follows :—

¹ *Rasamañjarī* (Benares Sanskrit Series, 1904), p. 247.

² In the *Rasatarāṅginī* (p. 23) commonly ascribed to भानुदत्त the father’s name is stated as गणपति in the following verse quoted by Dr. Sharma (Annals, Vol. XVII, p. 245)—

‘ताते निर्गच्छति गणपतो नाकमद्यापि तस्या etc.’

Author of Rasamañjarī.	Author of Pārijāta.
<p>(1) Here the name of the work is given as मञ्जरी which is described as 'वाग्देवी नृत्तिपारिजातकुसुमस्यर्धाकरी मञ्जरी'</p> <p>We are tempted to think that in the above line there is a <i>श्लेष</i> on the word पारिजात, the author <i>hinting thereby that the present work मञ्जरी</i> or <i>रसमञ्जरी</i> <i>rivals his earlier work पारिजात.</i></p> <p>(2) The father of the author of the <i>Rasamañjarī</i> is गणेश्वर (= गणपति) '—'तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः'</p> <p>(3) The author of the <i>Rasamañjarī</i> calls himself भानु कवि ('कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता')</p> <p>(4) The author of the <i>Rasamañjarī</i> hailed from Mithilā ('देशो यस्य विदेहभूः')</p> <p>(5) गणेश्वर, father of भानुदत्त is styled as 'कविकुसुमाङ्कारसूडामणिः'</p>	<p>(1) Here the name of the work is given as पारिजात ('पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्')</p> <p>(2) The father of the author of the पारिजात is also गणपति ('यथा गणपतेः काव्यं' and 'अनयोः संगमः स्नायः')</p> <p>(3) The name of the author of the पारिजात is also भानुदत्त कवि ('कवेः श्रीभानुदत्तस्य पारिजातो निषेव्यताम्')</p> <p>(4) The MS.¹ of the पारिजात comes from Pandit Jaduvīra Miśra, Khopā, Phulapāras, P.O. Darbhanga.</p> <p>(5) The father of the author of पारिजात was also a great poet (cf. 'यथा गणपतेः काव्यं')</p>

The above comparison of particulars about the authors of the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Pārijāta* show : (1) an identity of names, (2) an identity of parentage of these authors, (3) a similarity of description of the fathers of the two authors and (4) possibly identity of the provinces from which they hailed. As the Mithilā MS. of the पारिजात described by Mr. Jayaswal is not before me I cannot conclude anything more at this stage of my inquiry. I would, however, request Mr. Jayaswal to examine this MS. of the *Pārijāta* and give us the benefit of his analysis in the light of my suggested identity of the

¹ MSS. in Mithilā, Vol. I, p. 278—MS. No. 257—'पारिजातः by भानुदत्त'.

two Bhānudattas, as adumbrated in the comparison of particulars gathered from the *Rasamañjarī* and the *Pārijāta* and recorded above.

I shall now explain the bearing of my hypothesis of the identity of the two Bhānudattas.

(1) Mr. Jayaswal states that the *Pārijāta* by Bhānudatta has been quoted by Vācaspati and Caṇḍeśvara.¹

(2) Mr. Jayaswal further states that Caṇḍeśvara is the greatest name of the 14th century. According to Mr. P. V. Kane² Caṇḍeśvara's literary activities began with A.D. 1314 and if Caṇḍeśvara quotes the पारिजात of Bhānudatta the date of this Bhanudatta would be *before A.D. 1314*.

(3) Now if our hypothesis about the identity of the two Bhānudattas, one the author of the *Rasamañjarī* and the other the author of the *Pārijāta*, is accepted the date of the author of the *RASAMAÑJARĪ* goes *before A.D. 1314*.

(4) This new limit of A.D. 1314 for Bhānudatta's date is *in favour* of the following dates so far discussed and recorded :—

(1) *Earlier view of Dr. De*—Bhānudatta's date, ' *earlier than 14th century and later than the 12th century A.D.* '.

(2) *Kane's view*—' *towards the end of the 13th and beginning of the 14th century* '.

(5) This new limit A.D. 1314 is *against* the following dates fixed by scholars :—

(1) *Mr. Jayaswal* states that Bhānudatta ' *flourished in the 14th century* '.—This view will be untenable if the limit of 1314 A.D. is accepted, though the possibility of a junior contemporary quoting from a senior contemporary's works may remove the inconsistency to a certain extent.

¹ MSS. in Mithilā, Vol. I, Intro., p. vii.

[In the दानरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर described by Jayaswal (p. 205) we have the line :—
'कल्पद्रुमः पारिजातः कामधेनुः क्षचित् क्षचित्' and in शुद्धिरत्नाकर of चंडेश्वर (p. 436) the line containing a reference to पारिजात reads :—

'न प्राप्नोतीत्यसौ समीपवासी पारिजाते तु इतरैश्चाचार्येषु उपाध्यायादिषु' etc.]

[वाचस्पति in his तीर्थचिन्तामणि (p. 182) mentions पारिजात in the following line :—'श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवस्तोत्र ग्रंथान्'.]

² *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, Section 90.

- (2) *Dr. De's revised view*—‘end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century’.
 (3) *Dr. Sharma's view*¹—‘Beginning of the 16th century’.

P. K. GODE.

THE LAKṢAṆA, ABHINAVA AND KUNTAKA

In his Note on the above subject in the *Indian Culture* for January 1937, (pp. 530-4), Mr. P. C. Lahiri proposed ‘to study the comments of Abhinavagupta (on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa) in the light of his indebtedness to Kuntaka, author of the Vakroktijīva—a fact which has hitherto escaped the notice of scholars’. But as found from the closing part of his Note, the question of the relative chronology and the striking similarity in some places between Abhinava and Kuntaka does not seem to have altogether escaped the notice of scholars. For instance, Mr. Lahiri mentions Dr. A. Sankaran as having discussed the relative chronology of these two writers, though not on the basis of the kinship of Abhinava's idea of Lakṣaṇa and Kuntaka's Vakrokti. Further, we have not yet got evidences enough to enable us to speak definitely of *Abhinava's indebtedness to Kuntaka*. Mr. Lahiri's conclusions themselves do not lend any support to the assertion made at the opening of his Note.

In an inquiry into the relative chronology of Abhinava and Kuntaka, there is another part of the Abhinavabhāratī to be taken into account, one which is more pertinent and where the kinship of ideas between the two writers is too plain to need any elucidation. This part of the Abhinavabhāratī is the beginning of the 14th chapter where Vācikābhīnaya begins. It is this more important passage that Dr. Sankaran refers to in his discussion on the date of Kuntaka in his work. And I have quoted and discussed the whole passage and the related issue of the relative chronology of Abhinava and Kuntaka towards the end of my article on the writers quoted in the Abhinavabhāratī in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, volume VI, pp. 218-222.

¹ Dr. S. K. De in his note on ‘*Bhānudatta and Bhānukara*’ (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVII, pp. 297-8) doubts the reliability of the evidence of anthological compilations, on the strength of which Dr. Sharma tries to identify the poet Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. Dr. V. Raghavan in his note on ‘*Bhānudatta and a verse ascribed to him*’ (vide *Annals*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 85-6) supports Dr. De's view mentioned above by citing a verse from Dr. Sharma's article itself which is ascribed to Bhānukara in one anthology but is really from the drama *Bālabhārata* of Rajaśekhara.

Some more later writers who speak of the Lakṣaṇa.

In my article on 'the concept of Lakṣaṇa in Bharata in the J.O.R., Madras, VI, pp. 54-82, I collected the references to this concept in later writers. During the course of subsequent study, I came across some more later writers who have spoken about Lakṣaṇa, whom I would like to mention here.

I. Bahurūpaniśra, commentator on the Daśarūpaka, a writer later than Śāradātanaya, speaks of Lakṣaṇa twice :

(a) Commenting on Daśarūpaka III, 32-33 :

रसं वा न तिरोदध्याद् वस्त्वलङ्कारलक्ष्णैः ।

Dhanika says : लक्ष्णैः भूषणादिभिः ।

Dhanika takes Alamkāra in the text as Upamā, etc. But Bahurūpa takes Alamkāra also as Nāṭakālamkāra, Atiśaya, etc., and Lakṣaṇa as the concept of the same name.

उपमादयोऽलङ्काराः । अतिशयादयो नाटकालङ्काराः । शोभोदाहरणसंशय-
दृष्टान्तक्षमागुणानुवादानन्दकपटादीनि लक्ष्णानीति ।

P. 35 MS. in the Madras Govt., Oriental MSS. Library.

(b) At the end, the Daśarūpaka says षट्त्रिंशद्भूषणादीनि, etc. Here Bahurūpa gives the Lakṣaṇas, Bhūṣaṇa, etc. and says that, similar to the Lakṣaṇas, there are also others called Nāṭyālamkāras.

Thus Bahurūpa has two sets, one called Nāṭakālamkāra and the other Lakṣaṇa. The MS. gives a list of Nāṭakālamkāras and Lakṣaṇas and there are gaps in the MS.

(नाटका) लङ्कारानाञ्जः— अतिशयः, नयः, दाक्षिण्यम्, अभिन
उपदिष्टम्, माला, सम्भ्रमः, अर्थापत्तिः, प्राप्तिः, हेतुः, विशेषणम्, गुणातिपातः, विचारः,
..... आश्रयः, अभिमानः, कपटः, याच्ना, निदर्शनम्, अभिज्ञानम्.....
..... (भूषणम्), अक्षरसङ्घातः, शोभा, उदाहरणम्, क्षोभः, अर्थविशेषणम्,
प्रोत्साहनम्, गुणकौर्तनम्, कौर्तिः, आख्यानम्, निवेदनयम्, परिवारः, उपपत्तिः, गुणानुवादः,
परिहारः, उद्यमः, कार्यम्, अनुक्तसिद्धिः, आश्रयः, युक्तिः, लेशः, अनुवृत्तिः, क्षमा,
प्रहर्षः, प्रियवचनम् इति (लक्ष्णानि)

The text unfortunately stops with 'Iti'. Bahurūpa's position regarding Lakṣaṇa is similar to that of Viśvanātha and it is most likely that Śāradātanaya's fuller text is the basis for Bahurūpa whose two lists contain Lakṣaṇas of both the lists in Bharata and those

found newly in Śāradātanaya. See my article on Lakṣaṇa ; also my article on Bahurūpamiśra's Daśarūpavyākhyā, J.O.R., VIII, pp. 333-4.

II. There is evidence to show that the Saṅgītarāja of king Kumbhakarna dealt with the Lakṣaṇas. In his comments on Sl. 12 of the last canto of the Gītagovinda, Kumbha says in his Rasikapriyā :

“ गुणकीर्तनं नाम नाट्यालङ्कारः । तल्लक्षणां सङ्गीतराजे—

‘ बहूनां गुणिनां यत्र नामार्थजनितैर्गुणैः ।

एकोऽपदिश्यते यत्तु कीर्तितं गुणकीर्तनम् ॥ ’”

Guṇakīrtana is a Lakṣaṇa of the Upajāti list in Bharata. Kumbha's definition of it follows Bharata's. It is not known how many Lakṣaṇas Kumbha recognised and whether he took also those of the Anuṣṭubh list. See Annals B.O.R., I, Vol. XIV, pts. 3-4, my Note on the Saṅgītarāja—(pp. 261-262).

III. Sāhityasāra of Sarveśvara, a work (Madras MSS.) in 631 Anuṣṭubhs treats of the Lakṣaṇas in Ch. III (p. 28). It gives in Āryā verses the 36 Lakṣaṇas of Bharata's Upajāti list :

भूषणमक्षरसङ्घः शोभा गुणकीर्तनं निरुक्तं च ।	5
अभिमानोदाहरणे गुणानुवादः प्रियं हेतुः ॥	5
प्रोत्साहनसारूप्ये मिथ्याव्यवसायसिद्धिदृष्टान्ताः ।	5
आश्रीः संशयकपटौ क्षमानुवृत्तौ तथोच्चयाक्रन्दौ ॥	7
परिदेवनोपवृत्तौ याच्चाप्राप्तिर्मनोरथो युक्तिः ।	6
अतिशय-पृच्छाख्यान-प्रतिषेधाः सानुनौतिनिर्भासाः ॥	6
कार्यः पञ्चात्तापः षट्चिंशत्क्षणावधिः(लिः) सेयम् ।	2=36
नाच्चे भावार्थगताः सालङ्कारा बुधैः प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥	

Each is defined in a half-verse. The definitions are noteworthy, being original though untrue in some cases. Bhūṣaṇa for instance is defined as an Alamkāra-dominated expression.

अलङ्कारतिरलङ्कारैरभिधेयस्य भूषणम् ।

Akṣarasamghāta is defined as Vāmana's Arthaguṇa of Ojas, the Praudhi of the variety called 'condensed expression'—वाक्यार्थेन पदाभिघा।

IV. Acyutarāya, a modern writer considers Lakṣaṇa as one of the six Guṇas of Kāvya in his Sāhitya Śāra. Acyutarāya has a new conception of Guṇa, which is like the Alamkāra of Bhoja. Under it come Rasas, Vṛttis, Rītis and Lakṣaṇas.

धर्मा रसा लक्षणाणि रीत्यलङ्कृतिवृत्तयः । Śl. 10, Ch. I, p. 8.

रसिकाङ्गादकां ह्येते काव्ये सन्ति च षड्गुणाः ॥

The Lakṣaṇas mentioned here include Bhaṛata's Lakṣaṇa for the commentary says : “लक्षणाणि अक्षरसंहतिशोभादीनि वक्ष्यमाणानि- - ।” p. 9. These are called Guṇas because they are ‘Rasikāhlādakas’.

At the end of the chapter on Guṇas (7th), the work says

शाब्देषु तेषु गांभीर्यं विस्तरो रीतिरेव च ।

आर्येष्वपि तथाश्लेषः समता सुकुमारता ॥

माधुर्यौदारते प्रेमः समाधिः सौख्यमेव च ।

समितत्वं तथोक्तिश्च लक्षणाणि मतानि मे ॥ Śls. 207-8.

Com. लक्षणानीति । निरुक्तकाव्यगुणत्वेन प्राक्प्रतिज्ञातलक्षणानीत्यर्थः । एवं च चन्द्रालोकसारौभूतं अक्षरसंहतिः शोभा चेति द्वयं, तथा प्रतापवद्गीयादिसारौभूतं द्राक्षापाकादि-त्रयं, कण्ठाभरणसारौभूतं शाब्दगुणान्तर्गतं गांभीर्यादित्रयं, आर्यगुणान्तर्गतं श्लेषादिदशकं चेति मिलित्वा अष्टादशलक्षणीयमिति सङ्केपः ।

This is a strange conception of Lakṣaṇa. Acyutarāya knows Lakṣaṇas only through the Candrāloka. But while the Candrāloka gives ten, Acyuta chooses only two from them. These two Lakṣaṇas, Akṣara samhati and Śobhā, the three Pākas, Gāmbhīrya, Vistara and Rīti which are three Śabdaguṇas of Bhoja, Śleṣa, Samatā, Sukumārātā, Mādhurya, Udārātā, Preyas, Samādhī, Saukṣmya, Sammitatva and Ukti which are ten Athaguṇas of Bhoja,—these are put together into set of 18 items and meaninglessly labelled as the 18 Lakṣaṇas. See Sāhityasāra, pp. 353-4, N.S. Edn.

V. RAGHAVAN.

A NOTE ON THE AŚVAMEDHA

Some time back there was a controversy in the pages of the *Indian Culture* as to whether the *aśvamedha* was necessarily preceded by a *digvijaya* and whether its performance resulted in the recognition of the paramountcy of the performer by the neighbouring princes.¹

¹ *Indian Culture*, 1, 114, 311, 704 ; 2, 140, 789.

It seems that its celebration did not always entail the performance of the almost prohibitive *digvijaya*, and was sometimes designed for purposes entirely different from the establishment of paramountcy ; nor was it confined to kings, in whose case alone the question of *digvijaya* and paramountcy comes in. This is clear from some passages occurring in the later Smṛtis. The *Uśanas-saṁhitā*, 8. 10 and 21, for example, alternatively prescribes the *aśvamedha* as an expiation for some serious offences :

अश्वमेधावभ्यर्चके स्नात्वा यः शुध्यति द्विजः ।

and

स्नात्वाश्वमेधावभ्यर्चके पूतः स्यादयवा द्विजः ॥

Similarly, the following verse (*Viṣṇu-saṁhitā*, 86. 67 ; *Atri-saṁhitā*, 55 ; *Bṛhaspati-saṁhitā*, 21 ; *Likhita-saṁhitā*, 10) shows a different application of the sacrifice :

एष्टव्या बह्वः पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।

यजेत वाश्वमेधेन नीलं वा दृषमुत्सृजेत् ॥¹

These passages tend to show that there must have been an abbreviated form of the *aśvamedha*, bringing it within the reach of the ordinary people.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

ANATTĀ = NĀMA-RŪPA

In my 'Rebirth and Omniscience in Pali Buddhism', *Indian Culture*, July 1936, p. 30, I made the rather serious mistake, to which Professor Otto Schrader has since kindly called my attention, of identifying Buddhist *anattā* with Upaniṣad *anātmya*. The words are alike, but have a very different connotation. Buddhist *anattā* is not 'despirated', but 'that which is not the spirit', viz. *nāma-rūpa*, *saṁnāna-kāya*, 'soul and body'. The Buddhist equivalent of *anātmya*, *nirātma*, *avāta*, etc. is *nibbāṇa* = *nirvāṇa*. Arranged hierarchically we have

:

¹ *v.l.* यजते चाश्वमेधं वा. Bṛhaspati, 22, defines *nīla vr̥ṣa* as :

लोजितो यस्तु वर्णेन पुष्पाये यस्तु पाण्डुरः ।

श्वेतः खरविषाणाभ्यां स नीलो दृष उच्यते ॥

- (1) *anātmya*, *nirātmā*, *avāta* = *nirvāṇa*, 'despirated' ;
- (2) *ātman*, *attā* = 'spirit' ;
- (3) *anattā*, *attato*, *bhava* = what is 'other than the spirit', that (soul and body) which is 'enspirited'.

1 and 2 together constitute the 'Supreme Identity' (*tad ekam*) 'equally spirated, despirated' (*ānīt avātana*), RV. X, 129. 2.

That *anattā* and *anātmya* are etymologically equivalent need not surprise us, and merely illustrate the ambiguity of literal (*abhihita*) and anagogic (*paramārthika*) meanings that can be attached to one and the same term, according to our level of reference in a given context ; of which good examples can be cited in *pratyakṣa* or *sakṣāt*, literally 'before the eyes', 'empirical', and anagogically 'immediate' ; and in the contrary values attached to the idea of 'waking' (1) to contingent and (2) to real being, as enunciated in BG. II, 69.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II DATED GUPTA SĀMVAṬ 257 OR 254 ?

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, when he was in charge of the Watson Museum, Rajkot, brought to our notice the Bantia plates of Dharasena II issued from Valabhi. He published a summary of the same in the *Annual Report* of that Museum for 1925-26, pp. 13f. and 1926-27, pp. 13f. The date of these plates as published in these Reports is 'The fifteenth day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of (Gupta) Sāmvat 257, when there was a solar eclipse (Suryoparāgē)'. Now the same inscription with its date has been referred to by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in No. 1324 of his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*. But in a footnote he remarks 'It is doubtful if the date has been correctly read, because in the month of Vaiśākha there was no solar eclipse from 574 to 591 A.D.' Fortunately for us the same grant has now been edited by Mr. Diskalkar in *Epig. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 179 to 181, when Mr. K. N. Dikshit was Officiating Government Epigraphist for India. But as has been remarked by Miss Karuna Kana Gupta in this *Journal*, 1936, p. 57, it is curious that whereas the heading of this article contains the date '[Valabhi] Sāmvat 257' 'we find it changed into 254, in the course of the article' not only in the Introduction but also in the transcript. What is more curious is that although this is such an important inscription for the determination of the epoch of the Gupta era, no plate has

been published along with the article as might be expected of a responsible Journal. It is sincerely hoped that the present Government Epigraphist for India will take speedy steps to remove the desideratum by publishing the plate in an early issue of the *Epig. Indica*.

DHIRENDRA NATH MOOKERJEA.

A NEW TYPE OF YAUDHEYA COIN

Cunningham says (about the Yaudheya Coins) 'the coins are of two distinct kinds; the Older Ones, of small size, dating about the 1st century B.C. and the later ones, of large size, dating from about A.D. 300, after the decline of the Indo-Scythian power'. I want to say something about those coins which Sir Cunningham describes as 'Older Coins'. The description which he gives about these coins (C.A.I., p. 77, ll. 15-24, plates 2, 3 and 4) is all right. But he points out only one type of those older coins. But I find another and new type in Smith's Catalogue.

Smith while noticing coins of Yaudheyas (p. 180) which he calls 'the earliest' (p. 165, l. 24) has committed a mistake by not noting a type which is really a different one from the 'Bull and Elephant' type within which he includes it. Under this head he describes seven coins only, two of which have been illustrated in the Plates XXI, 13 and 14.

Now the coin No. 13 in one of these, namely in Plate XXI, is worthy of consideration. Herein may be described a new type of those 'Older Coins' of the Yaudheyas which seems to have escaped his notice. Smith describes it as follows:—

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Bull and Elephant type; about beginning of Christian era

Obverse

Reverse

A.S.B. AE.

Copper

Bull standing r., facing a railing with curved object ('pillar with pendent garlands', Cunningham) rising from it; legends fragmentary.

Elephant moving r., Nandipada symbol above; fairly well preserved; the elephant is passing a scythe-like object clearly shown. (Pl. XXI, 13.)

The same coin No. 13 of his Plate XXI may be described as follows :—

YAUDHEYA

ANONYMOUS

Horse and Elephant type

Obverse

Reverse

Horse standing r., with his head turned round and touching his back ; with the manes flowing. The muzzle is distinctly equine and not bovine, so also the hoofs. The tail is bushy and is exactly like that of a horse may be well contrasted with the bovine tail of No. 11 which is thin.

Similar.

The railing with curved object Indian legend.

We are further struck with the beautiful representation of the horse. Every muscle of its body is perfectly displayed. Thus, we may be permitted to infer that this coin No. 13, Pl. XXI, is not a specimen of the Bull and Elephant type but forms a class by itself. It may be distinguished as Horse and Elephant type and considered as another type of the Earliest Yaudheya coins.

BHRAMAR GHOSH.

ĀSVAMEDHA AND RĀJASŪYA

It has been claimed for the *Sārvabhauma* or independent kings that they are only entitled to perform the *Āśvamedha* sacrifices. We have shown before that Vasudeva, the father of Valadeva and Kṛṣṇa, who was but a cattle-farmer and a tenant of Kāṁsa, performed the *Āśvamedha*, when his sons acquired much wealth.¹ It has further been shown how a petty potentate and a Moghul satrap, namely, Sowae Jaya Simha of Amber performed the *Āśvamedha*, some two hundred years before our time.² We shall now show that this could be performed even by common people.

¹ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. II, pp. 140-141.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 547-548.

The *Vaiṣṇava Dharma-sāstra* has quoted a verse from the *Pitṛgītā*, to say that many sons should be desired so that at least one out of them will go to Gayā, or perform the *Aśvamedha* or let loose an indigo-coloured ox (*nila-vṛṣa*).¹ This verse is also found in the *Mahābhārata*² and the *Vāyu-purāṇa*.³

There is nothing in the verse to show that desire for many sons was laid down for the *Sārvabhauma* or independent kings only, and not for the common folk. It is clear from this that there was no bar for a commoner to perform the *Aśvamedha*, provided he was rich and otherwise powerful. Vasudeva is a clear example of this.

The same cannot be said of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice. One of the qualifications, according to the *Amarakoṣa*, of a *Samrāt* is to perform the *Rājasūya* sacrifice.⁴ On the successful return of Karna from *digvijaya*, Duryodhana proposed to perform the *Rājasūya*, but his priest told him that so long as Yudhiṣṭhira was living none was entitled to perform the best of the sacrifices in the Kuru family. Duryodhana had the further bar to its performance. His old father Dhṛtarāṣṭra was still living.⁵ So it appears that the *Rājasūya* was far more important than the *Aśvamedha*, as on it depended the title of *Samrāt*.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

¹ एष्टव्यं बहवः पुत्रा यद्येकोऽपि गयां व्रजेत् ।

यजेत वाञ्छमेधेन नीलं वा ह्यसुतं हजेत् ॥ वैष्णवधर्मशास्त्र, ८५ म अध्याय ।

² *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparva, ८४ म अध्याय ।

³ *Vāyu-purāṇa*, १०५ म अध्याय ।

⁴ येनेष्टं राजसूयेन मण्डलस्येश्वरस्य यः ।

शक्तिं यथाज्ञया राज्ञः स सप्ताहस्य राजकं ॥ अमरकोष-तन्त्रियवर्ग ।

⁵ न स शक्यः क्रतुश्रेष्ठ जीवमाने युधिष्ठिरे ।

आहर्तुं कौरवश्रेष्ठ कुले तव ह्युत्तम ॥

दीर्घायुर्जीवति च ते धृतराष्ट्रः पिता ह्यपि ।

अतश्चापि विरुद्धस्ते क्रतुरेष ह्युत्तम ॥

महाभारत, वनपर्व २५४ म अध्याय ।

REVIEWS

VEDISCHE VOLKSETYMOLOGIE UND DĀS NIRUKTA. By Dr. Pavel Poucha. Published in the Journal of the Czechoslovak Oriental Institute in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It was a pleasure to go through the above paper on Vedic popular etymologies and the Nirukta by Dr. Pavel Poucha. The learned author has taken great pains to furnish a Vedic basis for fifty of the etymologies given by Yāska in his Nirukta. Regarding two others he seems to be a little in doubt while eight cases he definitely holds as more or less meaningless.

An attempt therefore has been made by us through a note published in this very issue elsewhere, to furnish a Vedic basis for these ten cases, which will prove a source of pleasure to the author of the paper.

Another point has been discussed by us in another similar note. That is the 'Pre-Yāskyan etymologies'. Dr. Pavel Poucha seems to hold that apart from the etymology of Agni from Agri of Agre, given in Shatapatha Brāhmaṇa II, 2. 4. there are practically no etymologies met with in the literature current before Yāska. This is not the case. A number of etymologies are to be met with in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads as well. Some of these form the subject-matter of this second note.

The learned author has referred to Winternitz's History of Indian Literature where, according to him, Winternitz had found a connection of the word Varuṇah with the root Varin, Atharva-Veda Kāṇḍa III, Sukta 4. If Winternitz did so he has erred here because the verb वृणोति is here used in connection with Indrah and not Varuṇah. A number of Mantras intervening between the two and the context as well leave no doubt on this point.

Dr. Pavel Poucha and the writer have now found any number of connections between the nouns and the verbs mutually radically connected and an accurate etymology of the word Varuṇah has been published in the April issue of this very Journal.

The conclusion arrived at by the learned author of the paper that a joint study of Vedas with the Vedāṅgas can prove very useful in discovering the Vedic idioms, is quite welcome to us but we do not like to carry that study on with the object of trying to find out what is Yāska's own and what is based upon the Vedas, because with this attitude of doubt very brilliant results may perhaps not be expected. On the other hand we would suggest sifting Vedas for arriving at Yāskyan as well as new etymologies, taking Yāska's help where available and never trying to refute or condemn him, as the more one studies him the more he is convinced of the mastery which he had over the Vedas, one knows not how. The depths to which he goes even in discussing the most commonplace words show that he was a master-mind and thoroughly an adept in the art of etymologies. It is therefore not easy to hold not safe that Yāska went against the Vedas at any spots whatsoever.

In the end we must congratulate the doctor on his brilliant success in such a tedious task.

We have no doubt he will carry on this noble task without feeling tired as the job is no doubt very tiresome.

The paper is really very interesting and useful to Vedic scholarship.

RULIA RAM KASHYAPA.

HINDU CIVILIZATION, by Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Indian History, University of Lucknow; published by Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. 351. Price 15s. net.

To bring together, in a volume of moderate size, the results of specialized study of the various aspects of ancient Hindu history is an extremely difficult task. In the volume under review, Prof. Mookerji has done this work wonderfully well. He has narrated in a simple style the history of our country from the earliest times to about B.C. 325. Prof. Mookerji has seldom tried to impose 'original' theories upon his readers, nor has he created any labyrinth around disputed points. For this, he should be congratulated by University students for whom the book is evidently intended.

Besides an introduction, the book under review has six chapters dealing with prehistoric India, (ii) its geographical and social background, (iii) advent of the Aryans and the Rigvedic civilization, (iv) later Vedic civilization, (v) Indian civilization in post-Vedic literature, (vi) and the political history of Northern India from *circa* 650 to 325 B.C. The volume has three maps and no less than twelve excellent illustrations.

The volume under review would surely prove to be very useful to students of Indian history up to the time of Alexander's invasion. The only point to which we like to draw the author's attention is that the book does not always give necessary references. As for instance, at pp. 174-175, the author refers to Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* without referring to any particular page or section of the work, and to certain views of K. P. Jayaswal, H. P. Sastri and R. P. Chanda without mentioning the works in which these scholars originally expressed them. This work will be surely useful to students of the early history of India.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA, for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph.D., with the co-operation of other scholars, and illustrated by Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, B.A., Ruler of Aundh. Ādiparvan. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927-33, pp. viii, 996, cxviii.

It is appropriate that it should have fallen to Indian scholarship to produce the first critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. European scholars were responsible for appreciation of the value of the *Rgveda*, as a monument of the civilization of the Aryans in India, but the epic is essentially Indian, the work of Indo-Aryans, and the special glory of India. But for the Great War it is possible that European scholarship might have undertaken the task. There is, however, no reason to regret that it failed to progress on the lines indicated so persistently by Professor Winternitz. India offers special facilities for carrying out the work, and Indians, who have assimilated western scholarship and adapted it to the special conditions of the task, are fully capable to carrying even so formidable an undertaking to its destined close, while most appropriately Professor Winternitz will share in the task.

It is the essential merit of the new edition that it is definitely limited to a practicable end. We need not doubt the truth of the tradition which sees in the epic the result of the expansion into a Dharmaśāstra of what was once an epic of generous size. The view that the *Mahābhārata* was from the first a Dharmaśāstra or a text book of the Bhāgavatas, as suggested by the Maṅgalastotra of the vulgate, over-

states the case.¹ We are entitled to believe rather in the definite redaction by a Brahmanical family of the text produced by the Sūtas, and due credit should be given to Dr. Sukthankar² for his most ingenious suggestion that we owe to the Bhārgavas the first recast of the epic. It is not a theory capable of strict proof. But it is consonant with the constant association of Bhārgava Śukra with Niti, and with the tradition which makes our *Manusmṛti* a Bhṛguśāhita, with which ascription accords the many verses common to the epic and to Manu. Again we can thus explain the second opening of the epic in Ādi, 4-12 with its insistence on the history of the Bhārgavas. If this theory be even approximately correct, it is plain that it is hopeless to expect ever to arrive at the version of the Sūtas, which must have been deeply affected by the rehandling it underwent in the process of developing an epic into a Dharmaśāstra. Dr. Sukthankar suggests that the original heroic epic, the *Bhārata*, existed distinct from the rehandling, the *Mahābhārata*, in the time of the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtra*. This must be deemed uncertain. The version in 24,000 verses which he regards as the *Bhārata* as opposed to the *Mahābhārata* may itself have been the successor of an earlier briefer text. Without stressing the possible tradition to that effect,³ it may be taken as self-obvious that there must have existed a shorter version than that elaborated by the Sūtas, and that this may be the distinction referred to in the *Gṛhya Sūtra*. Nor can it be forgotten that we have no great certainty as to the antiquity of that particular part of the *Gṛhya* text.⁴ We may not, therefore, claim for the expanded text of the Bhārgavas the antiquity suggested. But this suggests that it may be possible for us to reach in a critical edition the substantial form of the text as developed in the Bhārgava family, before it passed out of their hands and became the common property of the literati of India. Whether we can accomplish even this may unquestionably be disputed, and must be left for the future to decide. More is clearly impossible. The epic has been too essentially a living force in the life of India and it has paid the penalty in the constant adaptation and alteration, in expansion and expurgation. Nothing is more characteristic than the insistence of the Southern recension in turning into regular nuptials the rude Gandharva weddings of Duṣṇanta and Śakuntalā, of Yayāti and Śarmiṣṭhā, of Arjuna and Subhadrā, and of Parāśara and Matsyagandhā. We may legitimately suspect that in the original epic there was much more of barbarism which the Bhārgavas were at pains to eliminate, leaving either no or but faint traces of their activity.

In the present edition one cardinal merit is the richness of the apparatus criticus. In all work on the epic, whether grammatical, metrical, historical, religious or sociological, authors are confronted with the constant question whether they are basing conclusions on old material or on mere various readings of no great authority. The materials for solving such questions have not been available in any effective shape, and the new edition would be invaluable for this merit alone. The only disturbing fact is the length of time which seems inevitable before similar material will be available for the other Parvans. Of special interest will be the question of the true text of the philosophical passages. At present they contain so much that is hard to understand that it is possible that better readings arrived at from fuller collations of MSS. will relieve the epic thinkers of some measure of confusion. It has not, of course, been possible to collate all the known MSS. of the Ādiparvan even in Europe, or to examine all those known to exist in India, not to mention those which are in private hands, unknown to scholars. But the present apparatus

¹ Cf. Lévi, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol.*, p. 99.

² ABORI., xviii, 63ff.

³ Cf. V. V. Iyer, *The Mahābhārata*, pp. 27ff.

⁴ Cf. Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 390.

criticus will enable scholars to whom MSS. are available easily to ascertain the value of such MSS. and to collate any that appear to have important variants.

The methods of constituting the text adopted by the editor are unquestionably sound. He makes no attempt to arrive at an *Ur-Manābhārata*, content with the only possible undertaking, the reconstruction of the oldest form of the text which it is possible to reach on the basis of the manuscript material available. There can be no doubt that this is essentially justifiable. It is clear that the two beginnings of the Parvan cannot have been original, but it is equally clear from their presence in both the Northern and the Southern recensions that their conflation is anterior to our text tradition. There is, however, no such patent inconsistency in the next instance adduced by the editor (p. lxxxvii). In i, 116, 31 we are told that Mādri mounted beside her husband as he lay on the funeral pyre, though it is not actually there said that she was burnt along with him. In i, 117, 28 we are told *praviṣṭā pāvakaṁ Mādriṁ hitvā jīvitaṁ ālmanah*, but immediately after the poet speaks of *śarīre dve*, so that it is not surprising to find in i, 118, 20 that of the *śarīra* when decked out it could be said

* *āchannah sa tu vāsobhir jivānī iva naraśabhaḥ
sūśubhe puruṣavyāghro mahārhaśayanocitaḥ.*

This does not mean, pace Hopkins,¹ 'the king looked as if he were alive'. His appearance was splendid as if he were alive, but '*āchanno vāsobhiḥ* 'covered over with garments'. In the same way Mādri was *susamvṛtā* (i, 118, 3), hidden from the wind and the sun alike. We must assume that the bodies were but partially burnt or scorched, to be kept for the funeral rites in due course. In this case we can hardly blame the diaskeuasts.

It is inevitable that the text should be eclectic. There is abundant evidence that neither the Northern nor the Southern recension has any monopoly of correctness. Both contain readings which are palpably superior, and which could easily give rise through careless corruption to the inferior version of the other. In many cases there can be so certain criterion, and the editor must make his choice on subjective grounds. Practice in this connection is of great value, and there can be little doubt that the editor has in many passages given us a sound text. There are instances, of course, where doubt is legitimate, but there must be very few where he can be held to have adopted a clearly inferior reading. No more than this could be expected from any editor. It is impossible to question seriously his grouping of the MSS. used or his valuation of the evidence of the commentators. His treatment of the statements of the Parvasaṁgraha is extremely judicious. We must clearly abandon any hope of deriving thence any really useful information as to the extent of the text. It may be added that the granthāgra which is frequently given, especially in Jaina MSS. to declare the length of the text is often quite difficult to reconcile with the actual number of syllables in the works in question, so that we can expect no serious results from treating, as is quite legitimate, the number of ślokaś asserted for the epic text as really referring to the grantha, as suggested by Haraprasada Shastri.

The editor has quite justly relied often on the maxim that the more difficult reading is to be preferred to the simpler, since it is easy to explain the latter as correction of what was poorly understood by careless scribes. But there are limits to this doctrine. In the Vulgate we have for i, 214, 5 of the new edition :

*adhyetāraṁ param vedaṁ prayoktāraṁ mahādhvare
rakṣitāraṁ śubhāṁ lokāṁ lēbhire taṁ janādhipam.*

This is difficult enough, but unquestionably secondary as opposed to the Southern text with its pointed *vedāḥ*, *mahādḥvarāḥ* and *śubham varṇā*, confirmed as it is by the construction of the next verse. We need not, therefore, accept as a necessarily correct theory the view that we are to restore hiatuses whenever we find variants in the MSS., which might be explained by assuming that they are the different efforts made by scribes, who were not accustomed to hiatus to remedy the irregularity. Nor is it precisely accurate to attribute hiatus to the 'humble origin' of the epic, 'a work which has its roots firmly embedded in the soil of the heroic poetry of the Sūtas'. Surely the Sūtas were hardly popular poets; rather they were akin to the Homeric bards who sang the deeds of princes at their courts. It is to the Brahmins who took it over rather than to the Sūtas that the popularization of the epic seems to be due. Nor do we need to appeal to Pali and Prakrit poetry for evidence of indifference to hiatus. There is no question from Brahmanical poetry that the objection to it was progressive, and it is constantly avoided in the epic. It is in the later stages¹ indeed that carelessness appears as a rule. That here and there instances of hiatus should occur is natural, but we must judge the cases on their merits, and we must remember that a variation² in the MSS. between such particles as *hi*, *ca*, *tu*, *vā* or even others is no proof that there was originally a hiatus. This is shown by the fact that in cases where there is no question of avoiding a hiatus the MSS. show much variation in the use of such particles which were used with little differentiation of meaning.

In i, 103, 5 no doubt *śrūyate Yādavī kanyā anurūpā kulasya naḥ* is a perfectly valid restoration, for at the end of the pada the absence of Sandhi is perfectly natural. So again in i, 110, 20 *avīryakṛpānocite* begins the pāda. In i, 99, 15 *tvayā ca amitadyute* may be correct; it is easy to feel a natural pause after *ca* before the vocative which would explain the hiatus. In i, 57, 20 *kriyate ucchrayo nṛpaḥ* is strongly contended for by the editor, but he offers no explanation why such a hiatus should occur. If he is right, then we must assume that the writer objected to ending his verse with three iambs, which is a recognized rule of the metre, and that, while copyists accepted the rule, they were not prepared to let the hiatus stand. The same explanation must be found in i, 100, 2 *nīśithe āgamiṣyati*. In I, 147, 2, on the other hand the reading *roravīthas tv anāthavat* seems more legitimate; I assume that the Śāradā MS. has *roravethas tv*, and not as the report suggests *roravethaḥ tv*. In i, 148, 1 *viditvā apakarseyam* is not probable; the MSS. variants between 'py, vy, and hy do not prove an original absence, not the *tad viditvā* of part of the Southern recension. It is very difficult to believe in i, 207, 17 *kuie asmin babhūva ha*. Such a hiatus as this is unmotivated and it is easy enough to explain the variants of the MSS. on other theories. This we may suppose that the *sambabhūva* of a large body of MSS. was erroneously curtailed to *babhūva* with the result that *kule 'smin* had to be extended. In i, 119, 11 *tathety ukte Ambikayā* the position is uncertain *tv* may be right before *Ambikayā*, but it is possible that *ukte Ambikayā* was due to the desire to have a long³ before the Vipulā and that the hiatus may be original. In i, 98, 8 *antarvatnī aham* may be explained by emphasis, but it is quite probable that *tv* is original. *ty* would be a blunder for it, and *hy* a correction. In i, 214, 9 *dharmarāje hy atipṛītyā* should be read; the variant *tv* is normal, and the hiatus is unmotivated. In i, 224, 5 *saṁtāpyamānā abhito* is needless. The MSS. suggest *saṁtāpyamānān* as clearly correct. Misunderstanding of the accusative as following on the previous line has led to the mere corrections *saṁtāpyamānā bahudhā* or *purato*. In i, 157, 13 *pañca-kṛtvā tvayā uktaḥ* seems unmotivated and the variants of the MSS. hardly justify it.

¹ Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, pp. 197ff.

² Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 236.

³ Cf. ABORI., xvi, 104.

Similarly in i, 116, at *taj jyeṣṭhā anumanyatām* and in i, 110, 28 *yadi āvām mahāprajña* are very dubious, nor in i, 51, 8 is *atho Indrah svayam evājagāma* at all certain. It is rather curious that in i, 86, 5 the editor restores *aśilpaṇṇī nagrhaś ca nityam* instead of taking the variant *agrhaś ca*. The hiatus would be excused easily enough by the caesura.

In other cases the editor resorts to the assumption of irregular Sandhi of the initial *ā*. Thus in i, 41, 5 he restores *garta'riāms trānam icchataḥ*. This is very doubtful. One reading can be read *gartetāms* as a compound, not as taken by the editor *garte tāms*, and it may explain the variants, having been misunderstood as *garte tāms* and the phrase felt to be feeble. Nor is it certain that in i, 218, 14 "*meghāñ jaladhērāmuco*" *kulān* is to be read; *ākulān* is not specially happy and *tulan* has MS. authority of considerable weight. The Northern reading *jaladhārāsamākulān* can hardly be used to support "*kulān*" as the true ending. It is rather an independent variant. No stress can be laid on the variation between *t* and *k* in Grantha MSS. We seem really to have two different readings for the two versions, and contamination hardly gives us a tenable result when it requires a very sporadic Sandhi. It is true that in i, 68, 64 we have *amale 'tmānam* and in i, 198, 19 *manyate 'tmānam*, but *ātman* with its Vedic variant *tman* is not a close parallel and i, 70, 14 *te 'jñayā* is rendered more easy by the close connection of the weak *te* with the following word. It must be noted that it is unsafe to lay any stress on divergence between the Northern and the Southern readings as proof of change to avoid an unusual Sandhi. Thus in i, 92, 45, where the editor has *na ca tām kimcanovāca* from the Northern text, we have in TG *uvāca kimcin na tu tām*, and in M *novāca vacanam kimcit*, variations without motive, which warn us against believing that such variations are of importance where the issue is one of Sandhi. No doubt *ca* has as often the adversative sense as in *Nala*, iii, 16 *na cainam abhyabhāṣanta*. Again *vā* in i, 3, 183 *prabrūhi vā kim kriyatām dvijendra* simply means 'indeed', and the variants are largely motivated by the fact that this sense of *vā* was often misunderstood by the scribes. But I do not understand the editor's criticism¹ of the reading of K in i, 55, 3 *śrotṛpātram ca rājams tvām*, preferred by Professor Winternitz, as unintelligible; it is, on the contrary, quite clear; *tvām* is governed by *prāpya*, which qualifies *mām*; 'now that I have found thee, o king, as one worthy of hearing the tale'. Indeed, while *śrotum pātram* as the less simple reading is probably correct, the *tvām* should rather be combined with it. It would be so easy for scribes to alter it to *tvam*, and the editor does not appear to have noticed that his own reading leaves *prāpya* very awkward and indeed meaningless. The eagerness to tell the tale is motivated by the finding of the due receptacle. In i, 56, 8 we have, if the editor is correct, two unaugmented imperfects which curiously enough he does not give in his list² of such cases in the Parvan. He has also³ a very curious use of *vyatikram* with the accusative of the person, 'wrongly submit themselves to Yudhiṣṭhira'. The example cited (B) xii, 174, 36—the only one adduced by Böhtlingk—is not very convincing; *buddhim aprāpti vyatikrāntāś ca mūdhatām* means 'who have not reached enlightenment but have crossed over to folly instead', not as he renders 'who have surrendered themselves (wrongly) to folly'. The lack of any connecting particle is also very harsh, and on the whole the reading is not probable, even if *vyatikramadyūte* is not very satisfactory. If the editor's reading is to be supported, both the meaning of *vyatikram* and the asyndeton need further corroboration. Further argument is also necessary in favour of *hāsyarūpeṇa* in i, 57, 21 in lieu of

¹ ABORI., xvi, 97.

² *Ibid.*, 95.

³ *Ibid.*, 97, 98.

hamsarūpeṇa.¹ There is no difficulty in supposing that Devabodha's gloss *kṛdāvatārarūpeṇa* might apply to *hamsarūpeṇa* in lieu of *hāsarūpeṇa* as is read, and for *hāsyarūpeṇa* some parallel is badly needed, whereas *hamsa* and *Indra* are not infrequently connected.² The support given to the Malayālam version by K is interesting, though conjectural, for it has *hāmyahāmya*, which may be for *hāsyā* = *hāsyā*, but which in any case is incorrect, and the vital Śāradā is lacking. In i, 57, 58 it is by no means clear that *drśyator ebhiḥ* is the sound reading; the variant *dr̥ṣṭayor* is no doubt too simple, but the solution seems to lie in the G₃ reading *dr̥ṣyayor*, which mediates between the other two and gives the precise sense requisite: 'How can we unite when we would be seen by them?' Neither *dr̥ṣyutor*, a rare form with passive sense in the participle nor *dr̥ṣṭayor* gives the exact meaning, and the corruption is easily set down to the failure of the scribes to observe the nuance. In i, 202, 19 *rājar̥ṣibhir ad̥ṣyadbhir ṛṣibhiḥ ca Ś*, has *ad̥ṣyais ca*, and the perfectly legitimate hiatus may have led to the other reading, as the editor's own theory would suggest. No one denies that occasional cases of passive use occur; but the point is that in each instance the probability must be duly weighed.

There are many other passages full of interest worthy of discussion, but it must suffice to add an appreciation of the interesting illustrations provided by the enlightened generosity of the Chief of Aundh, whose assistance in this great national enterprise is deserving of the highest appreciation by the Indian Government as well as the people of India.

A. BERRIE DALE KEITH.

THE BUDDHISM OF TIBET OR LAMAISM by L. Austine Waddell, M.B., F.L.S., F.R.G.S., Second Edition, Cambridge, W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1934.

The treatise of Colonel Waddell first appeared in 1894, and a second edition was long overdue. The jealously guarded land of the *Dalai Lāma* has a special attraction for the people of Bengal. The 'icy walls' of the Himalayas could not prevent saints and scholars belonging to this province, both in modern times and ages long gone by, from penetrating into the hills and dales of the 'Forbidden Realm' on the tableland of Central Asia, and establishing a contact between the upper and the lower valleys of the Brahmaputra that was fruitful in many ways. The work of Colonel Waddell deals with the fascinating country of the *Lāmas*, its monasteries (pp. 255ff.), temples and cathedrals (287ff.), and its strange beliefs and modes of worship (pp. 76ff., 324ff.) that, in his opinion, owe their origin to *Padma-Sambhava* (p. xxxix). The volume before us contains an introductory note on primitive Buddhism and a historic survey of Lāmaism, and 'brings to a focus most of the information on *Lāmaism* scattered through former publications' and 'attempts to disentangle the early history of Lāmaism from the chaotic growth of fable which has invested it'. On p. xxx of the present volume, Dr. Waddell makes the interesting, though by no means convincing, guess that the name of *Avalokita* or 'the Looking-down Lord' may possibly have been suggested by Asoka's title 'the Compassionate Looker-on' (*Piyadasi*). The value of the work is enhanced by numerous illustrations, a chronological table and a useful bibliography appended to the text.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

¹ ABORI., 101.

² Hopkin's *Epic Mythology*, pp. 125, 126, 133.

THE EARLY BUDDHIST THEORY OF MAN PERFECTED by I. B. Horner,
M.A., London, Williams & Norgate, Ltd. Price 12s. 6d. net.

In this interesting volume covering 328 pages, the authoress who is the Librarian of Newnham College, Cambridge, carries on investigations into the development of the highest ideal—that of the *arahān*—which early monastic Buddhism set before its followers. She has had the benefit of instructive suggestions and criticisms from Mrs. Rhys Davids, than whom there is no abler living exponent of certain aspects of the great religion which owes its origin to the Sage of the Śākya. In the opening chapter the writer of the present volume draws a distinction between the original *Dhamma* elucidated by the Blessed Gotama and his contemporary co-workers, and the later gospel of *nirōdha* which was the contribution of the monks of the Buddhist Fraternity to the doctrine of their Master. She then enters into a discussion of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist concepts of the *Arahān*, and various aspects of the *Arahān* such as *Oghatinna* 'crossed over the flood' and *Pāraṅgata*, 'going or gone beyond'. She points out that under Monastic Buddhism, *arahanship* heads the group of those people who were on 'the four ways (*magga*)', who count among themselves the *sotāpanna* ('stream-winner'), the *sakadāgāmin* ('once returner') and the *anāgāmin* ('non-returner').

It is possible to disagree with the authoress in regard to certain points of detail. For instance a student of the *Jātakas* and of the *Niddesa* will hesitate to endorse her opinion that 'the Buddhist records . . . do not mention Kṛṣṇa' and Kṛṣṇaism (pp. 60, 61). The statement (p. 22) that the *Samhitās* or hymn-books were *appended* to the Vedas is also far from clear. But these minor details do not take away from the merit of the work as a whole which throws welcome light on an important aspect of the religious history of India.

H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI.

HINDU ART IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING. By Perviz N. Peerozshaw Dubash, M.A., LL.B., with foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., D.Litt., and drawings in black and white by Miss Ruby J. Treasuryvala. Published by the National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd., Madras, pp. i-xix, 1-278, pls. I-LXV, 2 coloured pls., 1935.

In this work an attempt has been made to present Hindu art in its social setting. In the foreword Sir S. Radhakrishnan has given a short but interesting account of the spiritual and æsthetic qualities of Indian art. In the preface the author has briefly stated the main points contained in this dissertation. It is divided into three parts, viz.: (1) Pt. I. Introductory, (2) Pt. II. Influences affecting art in ancient India, and (3) Pt. III. Art in ancient India. In part I there are two chapters, viz. chapter I. Introduction and scope of the subject and chapter II. Nature and place of art in social life. In the first chapter the æsthetic qualities of art have been indicated. In the second chapter the author has tackled the problem of the relation between art and technique and the æsthetic qualities of art. She has concluded that an artist is a genuine creator and not an instrument through which the human society makes itself expressed. Regarding the question of the place of art in social life she has opined that the theory of 'Art for Art's sake' 'is hardly borne out by the history of Art and of society in general' (p. 30) and that 'some purpose must be there for Art to grow and develop and influence society in its turn' (p. 31). In part II there are three chapters, viz. chapter III. Main historical background, chapter IV. Motive forces in ancient India and chapter V. Institutions of ancient India. In the third chapter she has dealt only with the Indus

Valley civilization, the Dravidian and the Aryan intrusion into India and the Rg-Vedic civilization. In the fourth chapter she has dealt with the main motive forces in ancient India and has rightly observed that religion is the main fountain from which art gets its inspiration. Consequently Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism are mainly responsible for the majority of the art-products of India. In part III there are four chapters, viz. chapter VI. Conceptions and ideals of Indian art, chapter VII. Review of arts in ancient India, chapter VIII. Art in the daily life of ancient India and chapter IX. Conclusion. In the sixth chapter she has dealt with the motifs of Indian art and has concluded that 'the Buddha in *samādhi*, the Trimūrti and the Natarāja are, then, the three main motifs of ancient Indian art, round which that whole Art revolves. In themselves they combine the whole history of Indian philosophical thought, and give us the main results of how the racial mind visualized, and was affected by the spiritual as well as physical ideals of the times, which may be taken to be the causes of the conception of Indian Art, its birth and development' (p. 135). In the seventh chapter a short account of architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dancing and literary arts has been given. In the eighth chapter which is highly interesting she has indicated the various art-products used by the Indians of ancient age to lead a decent life. Here she has rightly given special emphasis on the decoration, furniture, domestic utensils, dress and ornaments of the ancient Indians. In the last chapter she has briefly summarized the results of her investigation.

But there are some drawbacks from which this book suffers. Firstly, it seems that the author has not properly and definitely discussed that thing which the title of this book indicates. The title 'Hindu art in its social setting' means the society as depicted in Hindu art and the relation between Hindu art and Hindu society. In such a thesis there should be an introductory, preferably brief, chapter which will show the exact relation between Hindu art and Hindu society and in the following chapters there should be a definite attempt to show some definite aspects of society as represented in the actual art-remains which are scattered throughout the length and breadth of India. But instead of doing that the author has written certain chapters, viz. chapters II-VII which, according to the opinion of the reviewer, suffer not only from superfluity, pointlessness but also, to a certain extent, from lack of knowledge. The only chapter which is apt and highly interesting is the eighth chapter in which the author deals with the various art-products used by the ancient Indians. Secondly, the author does not consult the original sources—archaeological and literary—which she should have done but depends mainly on the secondary sources, i.e. the modern treatises on this subject written by other scholars. Thirdly, there are some misstatements of facts which the present reviewer wishes to criticize. They are the following ones: (i) 'The Encyclopædia Britannica, in its enumeration of the Fine Arts, gives us architecture, sculpture, painting, music, poetry and drama. This, I think, is the most comprehensive classification of the Fine Arts I have met with, and suits our purpose very well, for it includes all arts traditionally regarded as fine arts in the ancient Indian sense too' (p. 10). The present reviewer does not understand the significance of the line 'all arts traditionally regarded as fine arts in the ancient Indian sense too' because there is no Sanskrit text in which fine arts have been enumerated in the way in which they have been enumerated in the Encyclopædia Britannica. (See, in this connection, Apte—Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 167, 1884; Monier Williams—Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 261, 1899.) Therefore it appears that this statement is not correct. (ii) 'Taxila, Nalanda, Benares, Pataliputra were some of the universities of the day' (p. 15). The present reviewer does not know any evidence from which it may be concluded that there were universities, like those at Taxila and Nalanda, at Benares and Pataliputra in ancient days. (iii) 'The frescoes of Ajanta provide a background,

especially the Persian embassy fresco, and that describing the marriage of prince Siddhartha' (p. 99). These paintings are called *fresco* but no evidence has been put forward to prove this point. (Regarding this point see the present reviewer's view in *Indian Culture*, vol. II, pp. 825-26; vol. III, p. 550, 1936.) (iv) 'The earliest remains we have of Indian sculpture go back only as far as Asoka, and are, therefore, Buddhist, in conception, inspiration and design, because Asoka actually propagated only the Buddhist faith' (p. 158). That this statement is not correct may be understood from the fact that sculptures belonging to the Indus Valley age have been unearthed. (v) 'It was the Indo-Greek artist who gave form to the Master's image and hence the importance of Gandhara art for Indian Iconography' (p. 162). The theory of the Indo-Greek origin of the image of Buddha was first started by Foucher; but this theory was ably controverted by Coomaraswamy. In order to study this problem correctly we will consider the earliest dated Buddha images belonging to North-Western India and Eastern India. It is extremely difficult to say which of the dated images of Buddha belonging to North-Western India is the earliest; but, in this connection, the researches of Konow which are latest may be accepted as a working hypothesis. According to Konow the Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket is dated in the year (1) of Kanishka. (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, pp. 135-37, 1929; *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. XXIX, 89, 1927.) He has referred this year to the new Śaka era of 128-29 A.D. and therefore this date becomes 128-29 A.D. In it we find the representation of Buddha. If we accept Konow's researches, this image of Buddha becomes the earliest dated Buddha image of North-Western India. The earliest dated Buddha image of Eastern India is the Sarnath image dated in the third year of Kanishka. (*Epigraphia Indica*, vol. X—appendix, notice No. 927, 1909-10; *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, by A. K. Coomaraswamy, pl. XXII, 83, 1927.) These two images are, therefore, almost contemporary; but if anybody compares the modelling of these two images, he will find the certain difference between these two specimens and will certainly conclude that the origin of these two specimens is different. Therefore it is wrong to state that 'the Indo-Greek artist... gave form to the Master's image' and it is, therefore, apparent that North-Western India and Eastern India created two different types of the Buddha image in the same age. (vi) 'The earliest extant representation of the Buddha as the "Divine yogi" is at the Amaravati' (p. 165). The author has taken Havell as the authority for making such a statement, but Havell himself does not say so. Further there is no evidence to show that it is the earliest extant representation of Buddha as the 'Divine yogi'. (vii) 'Except in the Ajanta frescoes, which are Buddhist, we have no remains of Indian painting' (p. 229). Anybody who has studied the history of Indian painting knows very well that this statement is wrong as ancient Indian paintings have been found at a number of places besides Ajanta. Fourthly, the author does not put diacritical marks in translitering Sanskrit words, e.g. Mahavira, Siddhartha for *Mahāvira*, *Siddhārtha* respectively, to mention a few cases only. In spite of these defects this book shows that the author has a genuine and enthusiastic admiration for the subject which she treats and it may be hoped that she will make necessary changes in its second edition and that she will ere long produce other works of far greater interest.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

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Acta Orientalia, Vol. XV, Pars, III.

Buddhacarita, translated into English by E. H. Johnston.

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The 'Gītā' and Theories of Education by D. S. Sarma.

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1. A New Contribution to the Materials concerning the life of Zoroaster by S. H. Taqizadeh.
2. The Copperplate Grant of Śrīvirarāghava Cakravartin by K. Godavarma.
3. 'Ju-Shih-Lun', a logical treatise ascribed to Vasubandhu by B. Vassiliev.

Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 4, December, 1936.

1. Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records by A. B. Keith.
2. The Administrative System of Sher Shah by S. R. Sharma.
3. Origin of the Varman and the Sena Dynasties by D. C. Ganguly.
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1. The presiding deity of childbirth amongst the ancient Jāinas, with special reference to figures in the Mathura Museum by V. S. Agrawala.
2. The Kalpasūtra by B. C. Law.
3. The Jaina Chronology by K. P. Jain.

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1. 'The Persian Calendars' by Furdoonjee D. H. Paruck.
2. 'Some Jaina Parallels to Zoroastrian Beliefs' by J. C. Tavadia.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1937.

1. The Weight Standards of Ancient Indian Coins by A. S. Hemmy.
2. The Chola Invasion of Bengal by S. K. Aiyangar.
3. Interesting Genitive Prepositions in Rājasthānī by T. Grahame Bailey.

New Review, Vol. V, No. 27, March, 1937.

Sumerian Epigraphy by H. Heras.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 5 Heft, Sept.-Oct., 1936.

Remarks on a few early Indian Terracotta-Figurines by C. C. Dasa Gupta.

Poona Orientalist, Vol. I, No. 4, January, 1937.

1. Patañjali on the Kṣudraka-Mālavas by V. Sharma.
2. The Kanaphata Jogis in Southern History by B. A. Saletore.
3. Date of Sārasvatapradīpa of Bhaṭṭa Dhaneśvara by P. K. Gode.
4. Unpublished Inscriptions of the Chalukyas by D. B. Dishalkar.
5. Reference to writing in the Ṛg Veda-Saṁhitā by K. C. Chattopadhaya.
6. Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya by MM. Dr. Ganganath Jha. Text and Translation.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXVII, New Series, Nos. 1 and 2, July-October, 1936.

1. The Nature of 'Folklore' and 'Popular Art' by A. K. Coomaraswamy.
2. The Notion of Difference in Dvaita by M. A. Venkata Rao.
3. A Short Account of the Daṁḍas by B. C. Law.
4. The Kathaka and the Aruna Praśnas of the Yajur Veda by N. K. Venkatasam Pantulu.
5. The Atharva Veda and the Mantra Śāstra by N. K. Venkatesan.

Śrī Jaina Satya Prakāśa, Vol. 2, Parts 4-5 (*Mahāvīra Special Number*).

1. Mahāvīra-*caritra-mīmāṃsā* by Kalyanavijayaji.
2. Observations on Life-incidents of Lord Mahāvīra by Ratnaprabhavijayaji.

Viśva-Bhāratī Quarterly, Vol. II, Part IV, New Series, February-April, 1937.

1. India and the West by M. Winternitz.
2. What can Christians learn from Buddhism by J. E. Pratt.

Obituary Notice

M. WINTERNITZ

The news of the death of Dr. M. Winternitz was very shocking to the literary world. He was a great scholar of Indology and Ethnology and his books bear ample testimony to his wide learning and sound judgment. He was a student of the renowned orientalist Dr. Bühler and an able assistant of the late Prof. Max Muller. His monumental work entitled '*Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur*' (History of Indian Literature) will be ever remembered by all those interested in the subject. Besides, he wrote several books and contributed many thoughtful papers to Indian and European Journals. It was he who started two well-known Journals at Prague—*Indologica Pragensia* and *Archiv Orientalni*—and it was in these Journals that he published many important contributions to Indian thought. Though very learned he was entirely free from pride. He was simple, active, sympathetic and he used to take genuine interest in the progress of Indological researches. We deeply regret we have lost a sincere friend and a well-wisher of our *Indian Culture*. It will be very difficult to fill his place in near future. May his soul rest in peace!

B. C. LAW.

